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THE THEME OF CONFLICT IN 'LORD OF THE FLIES': A LINGUISTIC STUDY

Dissertação apresentada à Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina para a obtenção do grau de MESTRE EM LETRAS - OPÇÃO INGLES E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE

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RESUMO

O objetivo do presente trabalho é examinar as várias técnicas que o autor de Lord of the Flies usa com o fim de modelar o tema maior da narrativa, conflito. Para tanto o estudo tenta responder duas questões fundamentais: primeiro, por quê William Golding escolheu mostrar tal tema operando em crianças educadas e privilegiadas ? Segundo, como está este conflito representado no texto?

Para responder a primeira questão o estudo examina as idéias do autor quando o mesmo escreveu o livro; em seguida o estudo sugere como essas mesmas idéias assemelham-se a algumas das do Hobbes em Leviathan.

A segunda questão encontra respostas numa análise linguística do diálogo entre os principais personagens da estória.

Um modelo teórico de análise de conversação é elaborado para que atráves de uma análise linguística seja confirmada a natureza conflitante de grande parte do diálogo neste trabalho do William Golding. Este procedimento contribui acima de tudo para um entendimento mais profundo do trabalho no seu total.

ABSTRACT

The present study examines the various devices which the writer of Lord of the Flies uses to portray the main theme of the story, conflict. As such it tries to tackle two specific questions. First of all, why did Golding choose to show such a theme of savagery operating in privileged, educated children? Secondly, how is the conflict which generates cruelty and violence brought out in the text?

To answer the first question the study surveys Golding's ideas at the time he wrote the book and suggests how these same ideas are akin to some of Hobbes' in Leviathan.

The second question finds answers in a linguistic analysis of the dialogue between the main characters in the story.

A theoretical model of conversational analysis is devised in order to find confirmation of the conflicting nature of much of the dialogue in Golding's book. This procedure above all contributes to a much wider understanding of the work as a whole.

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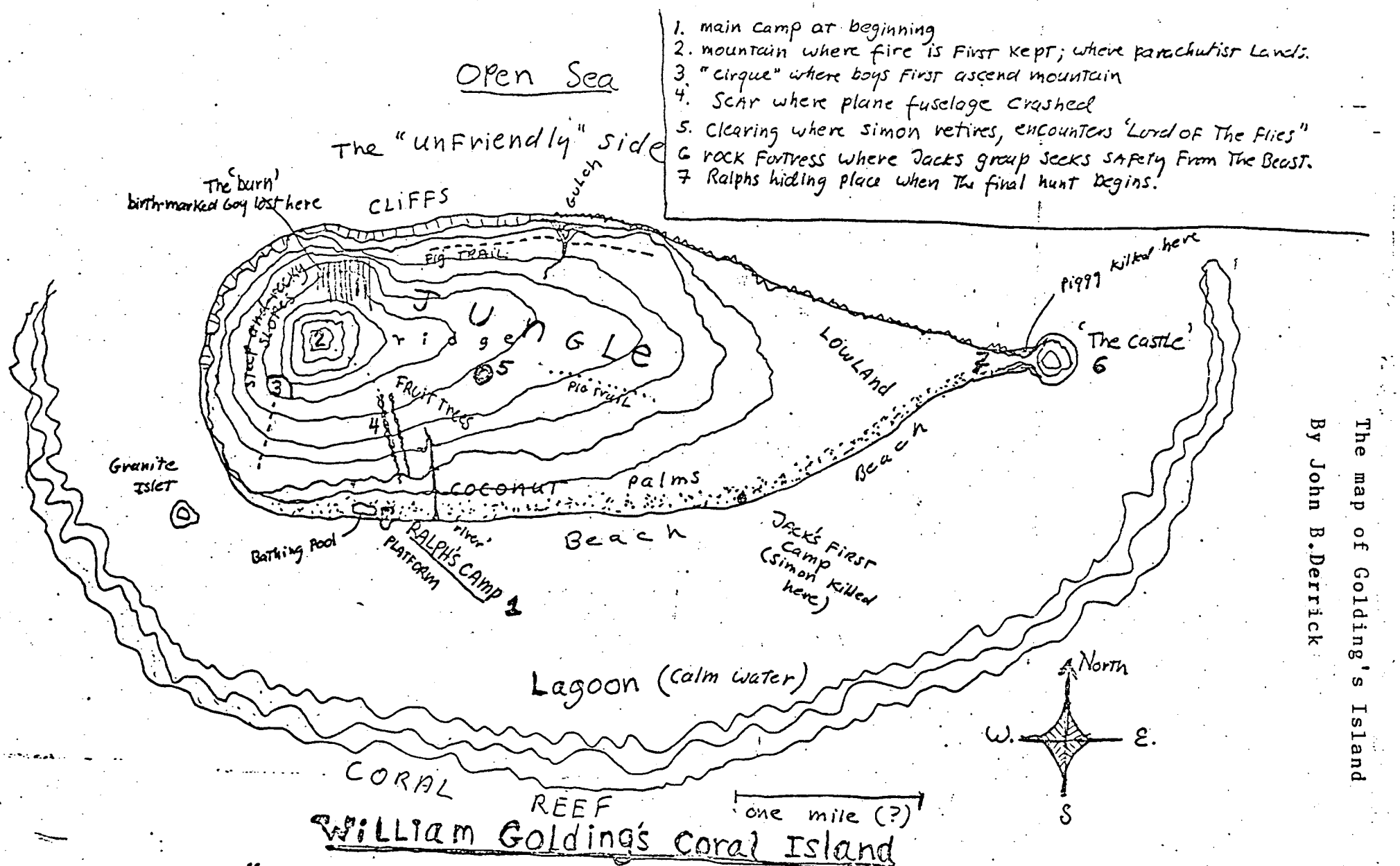

William Golding's Coral Island

"We ought to draw a map", said Ralph, "only we haven't any paper". P.29 (25)

"It was roughly boat-shaped...." P.31 (27)

The map of Golding's Island

By John B. Derrick

"There is no one who is creative without being just a little dissective"

(Golding: 1984:155)

INTRODUCTION

Cruelty and violence are what stand out in a first reading of Lord of the Flies, and they are the more impressive in that the protagonists are all children.

It was this contrast between the tender age of the boys and their seemingly innate destructiveness which brought to mind two questions, one philosophical and literary and the other essentially linguistic.

The two questions are: Why did Golding choose to show such a theme of savagery operating in priviliged, educated children? and How is the conflict which generates cruelty and violence brought out in the text?

To answer the first question I looked outside the book finding cross-references and trying to synthesize what has been said about Golding's work and his own words and views about life. As for the second, I have looked closely at the text and studied certain aspects of the conversational 'exchanges' which can be seen to reflect the theme of conflict.

The present work has the following parts:

Chapter 1 situates the problem of evil in Golding's work thus moving some way towards answering the first question. This is done partly through a discussion of Golding's view of mankind as being capable of great evil and partly by showing how he writes Lord of the Flies to incorporate this belief. A parallel is made between Golding's ideas in this book and the ones found in Hobbes' Leviathan.

Chapter 2 explains three models of conversational analysis. This is followed by a final proposal of a theoretical

model, eclectically constructed in order to put together those elements from the original models which can best explain the literary text in question.

In Chapter 3 we see the significance of names in literature with particular reference to Lord of the Flies. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of how certain linguistic features in the dialogue enhance the subject matter and expands its propositional scope.

Chapter 4 deals with the linguistic analysis of the assemblies, focussing on the process whereby power over the boys shifts from one leader to the other. The conflict in the process of control shifting from Ralph to Jack is marked in the manner in which the topics are treated by the participants in the conversation. These are equally important vehicles as the actions themselves. In this same Chapter, I conclude the study, bringing together the main points raised in Chapters 1 to 3.

Now, I propose to answer the first question briefly, as an introduction to the second - the main concern of this study, situating the problem of natural evil in mankind as an important element in Golding's work. I also suggest possible source of ideas which seem to be akin to the conflicting nature of much of what is said and done in the book.

CHAPTER I

William Golding's View of Human Nature

Asked to comment on the critics' view that in his early novels he had placed a lot of emphasis on human malignancy, Golding answered:

> I recognized the folly of the naive, liberal, almost Rousseauesque view of man as being capable of perfection if left to himself.
> (The Guardian, Oct. 8, 1983)

Lord of the Flies, his first novel, is a product of the post-war mood. His view of human nature as capable of great evil was deeply influenced by what he saw during and after World War II. The horrors of Nazi Germany he thought could be repeated anywhere in the world - England included, for man has a natural inclination to evil. Thus he wrote Lord of the Flies to express his feeling that

> human beings do have a strand - or element, if you like - of real malignancy. (...) I also believe that we have a great capacity for love and self-sacrifice, but we can't refuse to recognize that there is active human evil. You have only to examine the Nazis closely: there was deliberate, specific human evil at work...
> (The Guardian, Oct. 8, 1983)

To make his thesis sufficiently forceful, Golding chooses to put children - not grown-ups - on a desert island, for they are generally thought to be less conditioned by the

habits of a social system and therefore likely to behave more instinctively.

The story starts by reporting that in a far away world grown-ups have broken the rules of civilized behaviour with the result that a war is raging. A plane evacuating school children has been attacked. The boys survivors find themselves on a desert island which reminds them of the world of fantasy and fiction in The Coral Island. They have a chance to start anew, organizing themselves into a desirable community, but as the story progresses they break their own rules, causing a tide of destruction which mirrors the one they have left behind.

Events unfold naturally. The boys are portrayed behaving just like real boys: they behave civilly and constructively at the beginning when things go well and all is novelty but, when they become frightened, bored, tired and hungry, even the 'goodies' show their imperfections. The "active human evil" which Golding refers to seems to pervade the characters and their actions to a varying degree of intensity through the development of the story, as we see below.

At the beginning of the story Ralph taunts Piggy (Chapter I) about his nickname, his constant references to his aunt, his asthma, and his general unfitness. This can be put down to mere innocent teasing. However, by Chapter VII, Ralph, in the company of the hunters, becomes just as frenzied as the others, and joins them in persecuting Robert, who is cornered like a pig after they have failed to catch the real pig. The next time they enact the ritual killing (Chapter IX) Simon is the victim, and dies.

It is the hunters and their 'Chief', Jack, who Golding intends to be the most destructive evil force in the story. They react to fear with more violence and follow their Chief's murderous instincts without question because they think that the punishment for disobedience is worse than the thing they have to do. As a group the hunters destroy animal life on the island thoughtlessly; they take human life (Piggy's and Simon's) with the same ease.

Although it is under the spell of a strong leader, Jack, and as a group that the boys perform their most cruel actions, Golding does not fail to portray this strand or element of malignancy in the simple play of the other children: in Chapter IV Roger and Maurice come out of the forest and deliberately walk through the sandcastle that the 'littluns' are building. Percival and Johnny go off crying, bullied by the bigger boys and then ignored. Henry wanders off along the beach and stops by the edge of the water to examine the living creatures being washed up on the beach. Henry is absorbed by this game, fascinated by the little creatures, pushing them around, not knowing that Roger has followed him from a distance. Roger, brooding at first, decides in the end to pick up stones and throw them at Henry, missing him on purpose:

> Roger gathered a handful of stones and began to throw them. Yet there was a space round Henry, perhaps six yards in diameter, into which he dare not to throw. Here, invisible yet strong, was the taboo of the old life. Round the squattting child was the protection of parents and school and policemen and the law. (:67)

Through this scene Golding again illustrates the core of one of his major moral issues in the story: mankind is naturally bad, aggressive, selfish; what keeps these elements at bay is the deeply-seated rules of social behaviour. Roger is still conditioned by these rules, but as the story progresses he and the other boys are further distanced from "the old life" and, unchecked by the old taboos, become savages in both appearance and behaviour.

Even Piggy, who Golding intends to embody the morality of the civilized world, becomes 'corrupted' as time goes by. Once distanced from the old life he moves from knowing what is 'right' to aiding in the concealment of evil: Ralph feels responsible for Simon's death and knows he has done wrong to have taken part in the "game" when he should instead have stopped it before it was too late - and Piggy, though he has been concerned with the welfare of the group from the very beginning, evades responsibility for the events culminating in Simon's death. Insistently, Ralph attempts to make Piggy acknowledge their involvement, but Simon, "the Christ figure", is nevertheless denied by Piggy:

> "It was an accident", said Piggy suddenly. "That's what it was ... Coming in the dark - he had no business crawling like that out of the dark. He was batty. He asked for it." (:173)

Piggy wants Ralph to accept his fatalistic view of these events. Ralph, on the other hand, feels responsible and believes they should not be acting as if they have nothing to be ashamed of, as if nothing has happened. At this point - and through an insight which is given to only one other character,

Simon, (:97, and :158) Golding speaks his own thoughts through Ralph's voice, about the natural evil in mankind:

> "I'm frightened. Of us. I want to go home. O God I want to go home." (:173, my emphasis)

Ralph sees the change in Piggy. His cry for help from God shows his fear and recognition of his moral isolation. The point to make here is that to make fun and tease others shows an underlying cruelty - and as the veneer of civilization wears away this cruelty becomes dominant. It is thus that the theme of conflict which I am trying to highlight is foreshadowed.

Most of Golding's critics have at one time or another criticized the simplicity and directness of his technique in this novel as compared to most of his other more complex works, Pincher Martin for example. However, although there is simplicity in the telling, the reader senses an underlying magnitude of themes of the kind most often found in works of philosophy. Golding's own words are a warrant for reading the story at different levels:

> I felt a tremendous visional force behind the whole book ... At the end, ... there's a scene where Ralph is fleeing from the fire on the island, and the point is not just that the boy is being hunted down, but that the whole natural world is being destroyed. The idea was almost as important to me as Ralph himself: The picture of destruction was an atomic one; the island had expanded to become the whole globe.
>
> (The Guardian, Oct. 8, 1983)

It is thus that a search for the full meaning of the story involves establishing a clear relationship between its literal meaning and the much wider implications which Golding acknowledges he intended. In this way we can justify further inquiries into the importance which Golding meant to assign to aspects of social organization, political systems, and ethics in this book. These issues become more approachable if, first, we try to answer another question posed above: What philosophical background does Lord of the Flies reflect if, as Golding says, it is not "Rousseauesque"?

A philosophical view which is akin to many of the ideas in Lord of the Flies is found in Hobbes' Leviathan (1651), which develops an outline of how societies are formed and wherein Hobbes provides a psychological argument about man's instinctive insecurity.

I have no evidence that Golding read Hobbes (2). Nevertheless, to discuss Hobbes' ideas at this point becomes relevant because of the parallel they offer to those in Lord of the Flies, as I hope to establish below, so as to cast further light on the theme of conflict.

Hobbes suggests that since human life is subject to constant change man lives in a continual search, trying to fulfil new wishes and desires. Happiness lies in a permanent state of war (or conflict) with other men, because to satisfy his greed man goes against other men; conflict thus arises to satisfy natural appetites and a constant wish to hold more and

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2. However, it is reasonable to suppose that a man of his academic experience in England would be familiar with philosophers of Hobbes' status.

more power, as a means of keeping the desired object. For Hobbes this is an everlasting state:

> a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death
>
> (Leviathan:288)

As a result human beings do not live in peace with one another as he claims other animals do, but in a state of anarchy, confusion and war.

It is interesting to notice that in Lord of the Flies, as a consequence of war, Piggy's life and death (3) fit well into this Hobbesian view of man:

> ... no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continual feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.
>
> (Leviathan:65)

Since according to Hobbes no other instinct is stronger than self-preservation, man seeks peace and follows it to secure his existence and a more comfortable life. So although men are all different in their opinions they are alike in their desires: they all desire self-preservation above all and agree that it is better to be alive than dead. Because man needs protection from natural danger and other men he agrees to confer central power to one person or assembly, submitting to his or their will and judgement, in return for

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3. Unlike the others, Piggy represents rationality. "Life is scientific", says Piggy. (:92)

a guarantee of his own safety and defence. This covenant or social contract, according to Hobbes, lasts for as long as both parties fulfil their duties: one to obey, the other to protect.

In Lord of the Flies Ralph is chosen to be Chief, first because his appearance inspires confidence, and most important, because he holds the conch which summoned the survivors to assemble, in their eyes a sign of leadership. Ralph soon decides on their priorities: the conch must be held by the speaker to ensure orderly talk during the assemblies, shelters must be built for protection from the elements, and a signal fire is to be kept alight for rescue. Ralph introduces rules to regulate these decisions and everyone agrees to do his share of the work. However, Ralph is soon seen to be unable to make the others carry out their duties. The shelters are not finished, the fire is left to die out, they talk out of turn, there is no drinking water. The covenant, to use Hobbes' term, which the boys agreed on when they chose Ralph to be their Chief, is already seen to be cracking, for the boys are not obeying their protector. This foreshadows conflict.

Already in Chapter II we see a confrontation between Ralph and Jack over the matter of protection. The boys start talking about a "beastie", a "snake-thing". Ralph dismisses it as being their imagination only, and goes on to give them a rational explanation of why there cannot be a beast:

> "You couldn't have a beastie, a snake-thing, on an island this size," Ralph explained kindly. "You only get them in big countries, like Africa or India." (:39)

Jack in contrast is much more assertive and immediate:

> ... "But if there was a snake we'd hunt it and kill it." (:40)

As the story develops Jack shows more and more that he is capable of protecting the group, while Ralph is seen to fail by not giving the boys protection and reassurance against their own fears. Jack's hunting technique suggests war-like manoeuvres, a feature which is lacking in Ralph's leadership. Slowly the boys change allegiance, breaking their Hobbesian covenant: they fail to obey Ralph's requests to do their share of the work to ensure the common good. This breaking of the covenant favours Jack's position in the group; he seizes the opportunity to show them that he is stronger than Ralph and therefore better able to protect them.

Another of Hobbes' arguments is that because man is naturally distrustful and selfish there is no sense in making an agreement of the kind described above, as a covenant or social contract, unless they set up a <u>common power</u> to punish anyone who breaks the agreement. Hobbes puts it thus:

> ... there must be some coercive Power, to compell men equally to the performance of their covenants, by the terror of some punishement, greater than the benefit they expected by the breach of their covenant (<u>Leviathan</u>:74)

Ralph's 'government' mostly resembles a form of 'gentlemen's agreement' : the rules for the common good (as it should be amongst gentlemen) are not backed up by a threat of punishment if broken, despite Jack's recommendation that this should be so:

> "We'll have rules!" he cried excitedly; "Lots of rules! Then when anyone breaks 'em --" (:36)

When Jack breaks from Ralph's group to form his own it is his coercive power that keeps the group together in obedient allegiance, not in respect. They are under a permanent threat of the fear of the beast:

> (The chief): " - and then; the beast might try to come in. You remember how he crawled - ..." (:177)

and also fear of physical punishment of the type inflicted upon Wilfred:

> (Robert): "He's going to beat Wilfred."
> (Roger) : "What for?"
> Robert shook his head doubtfully.
> (Robert): "I don't know. He didn't say. He got angry and made us tie Wilfred up."
> (:176)

Jack has control over his group in a manner which reflects most of what we have seen about Hobbes' ideas in Leviathan.

To this extent Golding's views of the nature of man, as portrayed in Lord of the Flies, can be seen to follow a Hobbesian pattern. Men are naturally evil; left to themselves they return to destructive savagery. For Hobbes this selfish and anarchical nature of man can only be restrained by an external power with authority to punish in order to prevent chaos.

However, Golding does not go along with this view. It is most important to point out that both Ralph's egalitarian system and Jack's coercive form of government are intended by Golding to fail. He wants us to see with him that neither Ralph's nor Jack's system would avoid chaos and (unlike what Hobbes postulates) destruction, because the defects of society can be traced back to defects in the human character. Consequently, no matter which form of government the shape its society will take depends on the ethical values of its people:

> With people, hating, uncooperative, selfish people, no social system will work. With good people, loving, cooperative, unselfish people, any social system will work.
>
> (The Guardian, Oct. 8, 1983)

Golding's vision put in this way is for a day when man can exercise his own control over his destructive nature. Unlike Hobbes, Golding suggests that this control should come from within rather than be imposed by the rules of society.

So far I have argued that the sense of conflict which is present in Lord of the Flies embodies Golding's belief that human beings are naturally bad. However, Golding has also implied in the above quotation and elsewhere that human beings are capable of love and of good. The dialectical relationship becomes clear because although 'natural evil' and 'natural good' are in contrast they are also in a relationship of dependence upon each other. Conflict depends on cooperation for it to be visible, for its own existence. If there were total conflict on the island there would be no society, each person would go his own way in isolation from the others - and hence the conflict itself would cease to exist.

I have also to say that in depicting so much evil in Lord of the Flies Golding is attaching value to good. This ties in with the rest of the theme and to one of the claims of the present work: namely that conflict as realized in exchange structure is, likewise, dialectically related to cooperation and the maxims of conversation.

Following a sequence of thoughts similar to the ones suggested above, I want to move on some way towards answering the second question posed above: how is the conflict brought out in the text? My preliminary work on this novel shows a deep sense of conflict for power which permeates the story. In order to understand how this theme is realized in the story I have followed two lines of research where conflict seemed most prominently portrayed:

1) in the naming system
2) in the way in which control over the group shifts from one boy to the other.

In this way, the present study is concerned with how, by design rather than by accident, this state of chaos, misunderstanding, conflicting relationships, and final destruction of people and nature is manifested in the way characters interact as well as in the actions they perform. As such, the study tries to identify the literary rendering of the theme which seems to go hand in hand with certain linguistic features.

To carry out this part of the study I have put together a theoretical conversational framework which enables me to describe the elements in the pseudo-conversation being

analysed. The linguistic evidence derived from this description becomes a valuable element in the literary interpretation of the novel.

Before I go on to introduce the theoretical description mentioned above, I want to emphasize that, although I am using a linguistic theory to talk about a literary text, the starting point has always been the literary text itself. My procedure was: first, I intuitively identified certain features in the novel (characters are nice to each other at times but at other times they are unhelpful, rude, violent, etc,) which to me were decisive for a fuller understanding of the novel as a whole. Then I proceeded to look for a linguistic model which could best cope with my questions about the text and help to provide answers to explain it. The need to select and expand the concepts found in the three theoretical models (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975, Burton, 1980, 1981, 1982, and Berry, 1981) was evident since I did not want to lose sight of my major concern which was and still is to be able to explain the literary text; the linguistic tools are thus instrumental.

CHAPTER II

The linguistic description which I am introducing in this Chapter, has been devised to analyse naturally-occuring conversation. Since I am going to use the description to analyse pseudo-interaction in Lord of the Flies it is right that I should also briefly comment on the much debated question of whether simulated talk can be treated in the same way as real talk.Some very convincing arguments have been put forward by Leech and Short, 1983, (among other researchers). Their view is that fiction describes events which mock reality and uses language to simulate this reality. In the process writers wanting to capture 'realism in conversation' use many of the properties of speech. "The features which obviously make the difference" (:161) between real talk and fictional talk (because of their obvious absence) "are, in the first place, those which interfere with and interrupt the fluency of speech" (:161). Some of these features are:

Hesitation pauses
False starts
Syntatic anomalies

In normal conversation, Leech and Short argue, these features are so common and inevitable that participants do not take much notice of them "unless they are particularly frequent", otherwise "they will be **edited out** (my emphasis) of his consciousness as irrelevant to the communication". Another fine point in their argument is that since written

texts are highly edited if/when these features are present in pseudo-dialogue they are more significant than in real talk because of their possible intended purpose.

Interestingly, what motivates the study of the dialogue in depth in Lord of the Flies is the presence of those features which are commonly thought to distinguish real talk from fictional talk. My interest in the study then is to emphasize how similar (rather than how different) fictional talk can be to real talk.

The notion 'orientation'

Conversations are complex events. However, participants make sense of them because they are rule-governed and thus participants can draw upon certain conversational principles which enable them to have a sense of 'orientation' as to where the verbal interaction is going. In the process participants construct meaningful contexts, infer logical relationships and establish frames in order to achieve their communicative purposes.

For Sinclair and Coulthard, 'orientation' is a category:

> a grouping of systems, which themselves are grouping of choices realized in the language.(1975:13)

It is through these systems and choices that participants can:

1. Maintain '<u>consistent</u>' orientation between one another throughtout an interaction; e.g., consistently following the expected pattern in teacher-pupil interaction of dominant participant initiating and non-dominant participant responding. In this type of formal, collaborative, authoritarian context teacher's 'orientation' (or controlled guidance throughout the interaction) is rarely challenged because the role of pupil is clearly understood as the receiver of information, thus accepting dominance and avoiding initiation.

2. '<u>Converge</u>' towards a mutual understanding, progressively building up a relationship where the non-dominant participant can choose whether to accept an initiation or react to it, thus possibly reopening the discussion, causing the 'orientation' (or direction) taken by the initiator to be reshaped. This is better illustrated in the type of interaction which can occur between doctor and patient, as Sinclair and Coulthard point out, where the doctor brings his expertise and the patient his symptoms. Thus although the doctor controls the 'orientation' of the conversation, or the direction he wants the topic to take towards a diagnosis, he depends on the patient to provide the necessary information, ie. his symptoms, during the interaction. When the information contradicts the 'orientation' participants normally work together towards the necessary repairs. One example which comes to mind is

when the doctor's diagnosis is moving towards 'pregnancy' but the patient's next contribution causes this diagnosis to be revised:

Doctor : Do you have morning sickness?
Patient : Yes.
Doctor : Have you missed your period?
Patient : No.
Doctor : Oh, so you have sickness in the mornings?
Patient : Yes, that's right.

3. '<u>Diverge</u>' from the 'orientation' (or intended direction) in the conversation, causing it to move away from the direction intended by the initiator (possibly) with the intention of challenging the interaction. The situation which illustrates the case is committee meetings where the purpose of the talk is to come to decisions which reflect the wishes of a community. Since there is a natural tendency for power struggles to take place in this type of interaction, participants are seen to challenge each other's roles for dominance, and this is reflected in different patterns of 'orientation' (topics go in different directions).

The argument so far is that in different communicative situations - 'teacher-pupil', 'doctor-patient', 'committee meetings' - dominant talk 'orientation' is more

rigid than in others. Although the general notion 'orientation' is intuitively satisfying, it is never clearly defined by Sinclair and Coulthard and the claim cited above (that 'orientation' is a category) not fully developed. Interestingly, other researchers, Burton (1981) in particular, have given the notion 'orientation' very careful attention in their study of conversation. As we can see below, Burton follows this notion very closely when she expands Sinclair and Coulthard's conversational model, creating the categories 'challenging' and 'supporting' Moves. Finally, the meaning of 'orientation' which I would like to establish derives from the traditional definition: the action of finding one's position in **relation** to the points of the compass. In the same way one follows a certain line of argument in the conversation all in **relation** to where one wants to take the topic: to expand it in a cooperative or uncooperative direction (manner), to close it or to reopen it as may be the case.

Sinclair and Coulthard's descriptive conversational model

There is no doubt that from Sinclair and Coulthard's work on discourse analysis it is their descriptive model of conversation (Initiation - Response - Follow-up) which has most inspired and deserved evaluation.

The model is based on the findings of a research project developed at the University of Birmingham which studied the structure of classroom discourse and its respective ranking system. At a first level of delicacy the

descriptive system ranks five elements which are labelled working downwards:

LESSON
TRANSACTION
EXCHANGE
MOVE
ACT

They were found sufficient to describe the structure of classroom action. At another level, typical Exchanges were found to consist of Moves and Acts and to have a three-part structure. Moves consisting of one or more Acts were found to function to:

Initiate
Respond
Follow-up

The description of classroom data shows a pattern of teacher initiating the exchange to Inform, to Direct or to Elicit, followed by pupil answering with an Acknowledgement, a React or a Reply and the teacher giving feed-back or 'Follow-up' with a Comment, an Accept or an Evaluation.

In order to recognize when one Transaction ends and another one begins, Sinclair and Coulthard noticed that in the teacher talk, lexical items such as 'right' 'well' 'o.k' 'now' occurred frequently indicating that a new stage in the Lesson was being introduced. They called the items Frame and

noticed that they were followed by an explanation of what the Lesson was going to be about which they called **Focus.** **Focus** and **Frame** were found to form a distinct type of Exchange called Boundary Exchange, preceding and marking the beginning of a Teaching Transaction.

Put at its simplest this functional and systemic way describes the parts, structure and relationships in and between contributions in classroom talk. Sinclair and Coulthard have devised other Acts (a total of twenty-two) and Moves to describe the data studied. For reasons of space and relevance I am limiting myself to those cited above bringing other elements of their theory into play as the argument requires them.

Since Sinclair and Coulthard's model of interaction describes highly formal, authoritarian and collaborative classroom talk it does not take into account some of the most interesting aspects of conversation which occur when participants choose to be 'inconsistent', 'not to converge' (i.e., do not want to work together to repair a misunderstanding), and instead choose to 'diverge' from dominant participant 'orientation'. Moreover, as Burton and others have pointed out, the model describes a type of interaction - classroom interaction - which hardly ever occurs outside its formal context. In other words the apparatus does not cope well with some of the most basic elements which are found in informal everyday conversation such as participants arguing, ignoring each other, being unhelpful or behaving in any odd way, because the system has been formulated to describe orderly cooperative talk. To show this limitation I have chosen two examples:

(Piggy) "My auntie told me not to run,"
... "on account of my asthma." (I)
(Ralph) "Ass-mar? (R)
(Piggy) "That's right. Can't catch me (F)
breath. I was the only boy in
our school what had asthma,"
... "And I've been wearing
specs since I was three." (:9)

Using Sinclair and Coulthard's model to analyse the exchange above we can talk about who took orderly turns (to Initiate, to Respond and to Follow-up) in the conversation to 'Inform', who took a turn to answer with an 'Acknowledgement' and who contributed with a 'Comment', thus behaving appropriately in the sequence of talk. However, it is when we want to talk about other types of exchange, for example where the orderly sequence of talk is broken, that the limitation of the model causes problems:

(Jack) "We've got to decide about being (I)
rescued." There was a buzz. ...
(Ralph) "Shut up," said Ralph absently. (I)
He lifted the conch. "Seems to me
we ought to have a chief to decide
things."
(Others)"A chief! A chief!" (R)
(Jack) "I ought to be chief," said Jack (I)
with simple arrogance, "because
I'm chapter chorister and head boy.
I can sing C sharp." (:23)

Thus, in the second example, we cannot talk about the significance for the interaction of the way in which each participant decides to start an Initiation of his own, not wanting to cooperate with the other towards the development of a common topic. I will return to this example later to propose a more satisfying way to analyse the exchanges.

Burton's examination and expansion of Sinclair and Coulthard's model

Amongst the surge of research work inspired by Sinclair and Coulthard's seminal ideas, Burton's (1980,1981,1982) attempts to push them further occupies my present attention because her observations are lucid insights backed up by a sound study of data, the result of which is constructively built onto Sinclair and Coulthard's original ideas and results in an adaptation of the model to cope with informal, non-cooperative talk, which has been invaluable in the present study. My intention now is to discusss these insights.

For Burton the immediate drawback of the description is that:

> the data that were formative in building the descriptive model were all of a collaborative-consensus kind. (1980:96)

The situation in which teacher and pupil interact is clearly defined in terms of who does what. The teacher's role is to transmit information which pupils receive without question in view of the teacher's position of authority by virtue of his knowledge. Because of this status the teacher has the pupils behaving cooperatively, complying, and supporting the interaction. As a result teachers are in control of structural choices, for they choose to pass on information, to ask questions or to give commands, consequently selecting the type of response and at times selecting the answerer by nomination. The teacher also chooses and controls the content

of his Lesson by selecting the topics for the Transactions, the Exchanges, the Moves and the Acts. As Burton points out, participants cannot hope to have things as simple as this in talk outside the classroom, for we can hardly imagine a situation where the structural and topical control are exercised by one person only, essentially because outside the classroom participants have and make use of a gamut of possibilities to answer an Opening Move.

It is clear that the major problem with the description proposed by the Birmingham researchers is the limited type of situations it describes, so that an attempt to extend the categories to encompass other types of situations becomes problematic. Burton chooses to describe a rather different kind of conversation: that found in plays. She points out that this

> will involve treating a playscript 'as if' a transcript of naturally occurring talk (1980:114)

but argues that this is a legitimate activity because like Leech and Short she notes that

> the interactants - fictitious as they are - argue, try to assert themselves, insult each other, ignore each other, refuse to do what they are asked and so on. (1980:116)

As a result of this choice of data Burton is able to modify Sinclair and Coulthard's system to cope with uncooperative and informal talk. She finds that in their

system the most interesting ranks are Exchanges and Move, especially Move, Since the structure of the Exchange depends on:

> What Moves are used in what orders and relationships, and since Move is also the minimal interactive unit, it seems that the most analytical problems centre on this rank first and foremost. (1980:140)

Another point she makes is that Responding Move (Sinclair and Coulthard's Respond and Follow-up Moves) is much more complex in her data because unlike the 'polite consensus-collaborative' data analysed by Sinclair and Coulthard it shows some interesting features such as:

> the 'answerer' can refuse to answer, can demand a reason for the question being asked or can provide an answer that simultaneously answers a preceding Move, but opens up the next exchange. (1980:142)

In response to this complexity Burton avoids forcing data into Sinclair and Coulthard's existing categories; instead she expands the concept of Moves in the following manner:

> given an Opening Move by speaker A, B has the choice either of politely agreeing, complying and supporting the discourse presuppositions in that Move, and behaving in a tidy, appropriate way in his choice of

> subsequent Moves and Acts, or of not agreeing, not supporting, not complying with those presuppositions, and possibly counter-proposing, ignoring or telling A that his Opening was misguided, badly designed and so on. This range of possibilities open to B (and of course subsequently to A, then to B and even to C, D and E) seemed to divide into two types of conversational behaviour, which for mnemonic convenience only, I labelled 'Supporting' and 'Challenging' Moves. (1980:142)

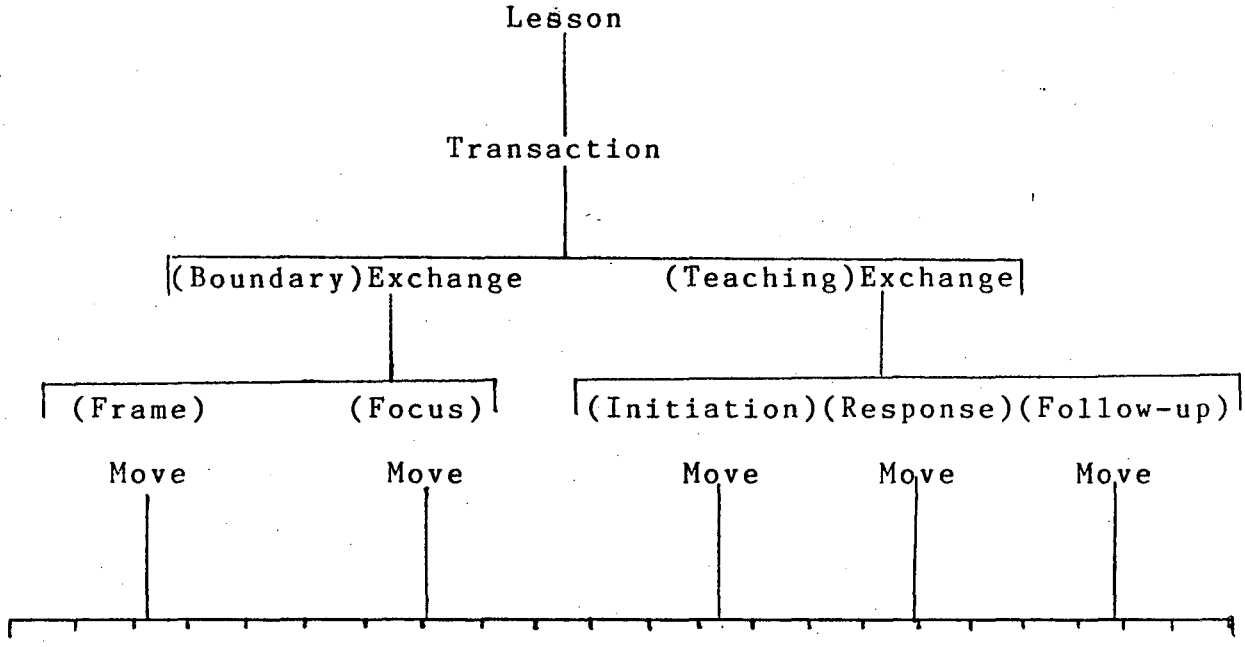
She then uses the concept of 'Supporting' and 'Challenging' Moves to redefine Sinclair and Coulthard's exchange unit. In the process she expands the Moves from three to five as we see in figure 1.

At this point I would like to examine the rank-scale from top to bottom to see the expansion which Burton made of the original model.

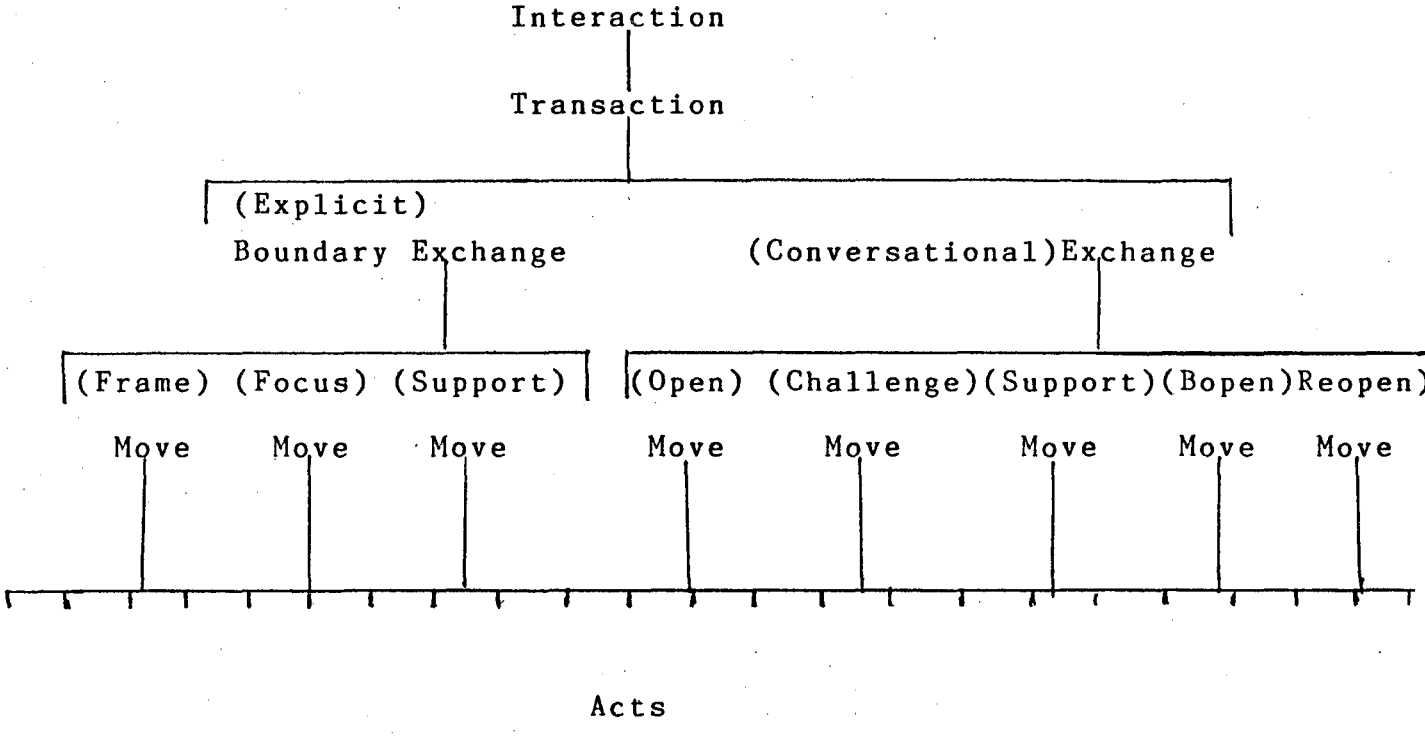
I. **Lesson** occupies the topmost rank in Sinclair and Coulthard's system. Since Burton's purpose is to have a general categorization of natural talk instead of features of specific situations (teacher-pupil, doctor-patient, committee meeting) she uses the term **Interaction** instead which covers a wider range of conversational events.

II. The term **Transaction** is conceptually similar in both models but Burton re-labels the two types of Exchange which form a Transaction, **Explicit Boundary Exchange** and **Conversational Exchange** to replace Sinclair and Coulthard's **Boundary** and **Teaching Exchanges.**

Sinclair and Coulthard



Burton



III. **Exchanges** - Like Sinclair and Coulthard's Boundary Exchange, Explicit Boundary Exchange has two Moves: Framing and Focussing, and they function to mark the beginning of a Conversational Exchange explicitly. Burton defines them further as being made up of Acts which are mainly attention-getters, pre-topic items, which indicate that a speaker wants to broach a topic and depends on the other participant's support to go ahead with it. Consequently a third Supporting Move is introduced to make up the Explicit Boundary Exchange structure, which as we see in figure 1, has three Moves: Framing, Focussing and Supporting. Since a go-ahead signal from other participant is essential for the interaction to continue, a Supporting Move is compulsory for the interaction to be well-formed. Conversational Exchanges have the function of carrying the business of informing, asking questions, giving information, issuing directives and receiving the appropriate answers. In order to cope with a much varied set of options which participants have and make use of in their choices of Moves and Acts, Conversational Exchanges have five Moves, as described below.

IV. **Moves** - As Framing and Focussing Moves make up the Explicit Boundary Exchange together with Supporting Move, a Conversational Exchange is initiated by an **Opening** Move (**op**) which functions to carry the new topic of the conversation across, initiating the Exchange. An Opening Move thus has no anaphoric

reference to any immediately preceding contribution. It sets up an expectation that other Moves, which function as Answering Moves, will follow.

Supporting (sup) Move can occur after any other Move and it functions to show that the participant concurs with the presuppositions of the move it is supporting, thus collaborating with the presentation and consequent developement of that topic. Burton puts it thus:

> Supporting Moves function to facilitate the topic presented in a previous utterance, or facilitate the contribution of a topic implied in a previous utterance; (1980:150)

A **Challenging (cha)** Move on the other hand, functions to divert the direction of the ongoing talk, disregarding the presuppositions in the preceding Move and thus acts 'to hold up the progress of that topic introduction in some way'. (1980:150) Notice that although Burton has chosen the label 'Challenging' for this Move she does not intend it to indicate hostility and points out that the diversion which this contribution causes is sometimes made in quite an amicable way. Therefore Challenging Moves are realised in different ways and in varying degrees. For example, as Burton says, by participants not answering the initiation with the reciprocal and expected Act[4] (i.e., and Elicitation not followed

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4. For reciprocal Acts see Appendix II pg. 105.

by the expected Reply but by another Act). The participant is therefore possibly offering an alternative move with different framework potential. A Challenging Move is also realised when participants simply ignore the initiation, not giving any kind of answer, choosing to remain silent. The example below from Lord of the Flies illustrates one type of Challenging Move:

(Jack)	"We've got to decide about being rescued." There was a buzz. ...	(I)	Inf
(Ralph)	"Shut up," said Ralph absently. He lifted the conch. "Seems to me we ought to have a chief to decide things."	(I)	Inf **cha**
(Others)	"A chief! A chief!"	(R)	Ack
(Jack)	"I ought to be chief," said Jack with simple arrogance, "because I'm chapter chorister and head boy. I can sing C sharp." (:23)	(I)	Inf **cha**

The first Informative was not followed by its reciprocal Act, Acknowledgement. Also, like Ralph, Jack takes a turn not to Reply but to start another Informative thus challenging the exchange.

A **Bound-opening (bop)** Move is another type of Response which functions to expand the framework of the preceding contribution adding new aspects of information to the ongoing talk. As the name suggests the information is bound to the opening of the previous exchange. Bound-opening can be a contribution from the non-topic initiator who can take the occasion to expand the talk in an amicable way possibly leading it back to the initiator to conclude; or it

can be a contribution from the initiator (excluding the opening contribution) who takes a turn to add relevant details to his present initiation. This example from Lord of the Flies illustrates a type of Bound-opening Move:

(Piggy)	"My auntie told me not to run,"	(I)	Inf
	... "on account of my asthma."		op
(Ralph)	"Ass-mar?"	(R)	Ack
(Piggy)	"That's right. Can't catch me		sup
	breath. I was the only boy in	(F)	Com
	our school what had asthma,"		**bop**
	... "And I've been wearing		
	specs since I was three." (:9)		

A **Re-opening (reop)** functions to bring back the topic that has been diverted by a Challenging Move which has either ignored or rejected the presuppositions in the previous Move. As Burton puts it:

> They re-instate the topic that the challenge either diverted or delayed. (1980:73)

Opening and **Re-opening** Moves are used by the initiator of the topic. **Challenging, Supporting** and **Bound-opening** Moves function as answering Moves and they are mostly used by non-initiators.

The last rank to be considered is **Act**, of which Sinclair and Coulthard list a total of twenty-two when describing their data. Burton has kept the number and as she says has kept most of them as they stand in the original model whenever possible. But when the Acts were classroom specific, to avoid forcing data into existing categories,

she has made alterations (see Appendix I,II and III in the present work for the Acts and the definition of their function in the conversational structure).

So far I have described Burton's adaptation of the Sinclair and Coulthard model where data responsible for the adaptation of the description is informal and non-collaborative. In her later paper 'Conversation Pieces' (1982) she pushes the work forwards, **applying** the model to the analysis of an extract from a playscript by Pinter (The Dumb Waiter). Her purpose is Methodological: to show how the way certain effects are conveyed to the reader and audience can be brought out by such an analysis and how to locate these effects. Her specific aims are to analyse

> how the talk itself is managed, controlled and organized by the participants - who is introducing the topic? how they do this; how speakers indicate a topic is closed; how speakers indicate they want to speak uninterrupted for some time (to tell a joke perhaps); who dominates; who is subordinate; who attempts to take control, etc. (1982:87)

Her interest in the analysis is to focus on how the Transaction management is effected by the participants, how the topics introduced in the conversation are treated by the participants, and how these elements can reflect the relationships between the participants. Since topic management is one of her major concerns I believe that primarily for simple mnemonic reasons she re-labels the structure of the Trans-

action calling the **Explicit Boundary Exchange, Pre-topic Exchange** and using the term **Topic Exchange** to replace **Conversational Exchange.** The other categories in the ranks below are kept as they stand in the 1980 description as outlined below. To recapitulate: a **Pre-topic Exchange** (optional) occurs before the topic itself gets off the ground; it indicates that a participant wants to broach a topic but first needs the go-ahead signal from the other participant. The topic Exchange forms"the bulk of the conversation as we usually experience it" (1982:102) The importance of this analysis is that it shows Burton's model has a different functional approach. Sinclair and Coulthard are interested in the

> function of an utterance or part of an utterance in the discourse and thus the sort of questions we ask about an utterance are whether it is intended to evoke a response, whether it is a response itself, whether it is intended to mark a boundary in the discourse, ...
> (1975:14)

They are thus taking an essentially structural line, for their purpose is to see how the role of participants or turns are distributed through the interaction. Burton, in contrast, takes a multi-functional line: her adapted version of the model copes with the structural elements in the system (who takes turns to Initiate, who takes turns to Respond) but it also copes with the meaning carried by those turns in terms of whether they are supporting or challenging the content of the ongoing talk. In this way we can talk about an Exchange which

seems to be well-formed in its sequence of Moves and Acts but is challenging the presuppositions of the preceding contribution by explicitly or implicitly negating those presuppositions or diverting them in some other way. Let us look at an example from Burton's analysis:

24	Gus	How did he do it?	elicitation	bop
25	Ben	It was a girl.	reply	cha
26	Gus	How did she do it?	elicitation	reop
27	Ben	She -	reply	sup

(1982:114)

25 is structurally a reply but functionally a challenge.

In this way by looking at how topic is managed in the conversation Burton is able to demonstrate that in The Dumb Waiter participants in the main are concerned with 'getting the upper hand' and 'winning a round of talk' and this conveys a great deal about their relationship.

So far I have introduced two models of conversational analysis; together they can cope with the structural and functional elements in the conversation. Now I want to bring to the discussion Berry's contribution to both models. The importance of her work (for the conversational analyst in general) for the present study is that it enables us to take into account nuances of meaning in discourse which would otherwise be left out of the analysis, as we see below.

Margaret Berry' three layered approach to the exchange structue.

A further dimension of the functional system operating at the level of exchange structure is given by Berry in her paper 'Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis: a multi-layered approach to exchange structure' (1981). In order to build up a theory to encompass the concept of a three layered exchange structure, each having their distinct functions, Berry firstly draws upon the different accounts of exchange structure developed in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) Coulthard and Brazil (1979) Burton (1981) and Stubbs (1979). Her work is an

> ... attempt to bring together within the same general framework what seem to me to be the most essential features of the four different approaches. (SDA 1981:120)

One of the features which Berry finds essential for the construction of her framework is the tripartite nature of the exchange described in Sinclair and Coulthard's data (Initiation, Response, Follow-up). Berry argues that she has often observed the presence of (optional) feed-back in non-classroom discourse. Presumably an example would be when A asks B a question to which only B knows the answer[5] (Labov's B events). Berry points out that especially among strangers the third element or 'feed-back' in the form of 'thank you' for instance, is predicted by the preceding move:

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5. See Labov (1970) for A-events, B-events and AB-events.

A - what time is it, please
B - eight o'clock
A - thank you

Moreover, unlike Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Berry distinguishes optional 'feed-back' from obligatory 'feed-back' and notes that the latter is very commonly found:

> ... in university teaching situations and very frequently in certain types of radio and television quiz programme.(SDA 1981:127)

For the authors cited above 'feed-back' or 'Follow-up' is always optional. Interestingly, Coulthard and Brazil (1979 reprinted in SDA 1981) recognize that the original Sinclair and Coulthard model, in categorizing the Follow-up Move as optional, obscures the fact that in many cases the absence of this element is marked,Their inconsistency lies, according to their data, in the fact that when teachers withheld the follow-up move they did so for a strategic purpose. To give an example of an obligatory 'feed-back' Berry cites the case when A asks B a question to which A already knows the answer. Because B may, or may not know that answer s(he) gives to be the correct one s(he) needs a confirmation of it from A as feed-back:

A - in England, which cathedral has the tallest spire
B - is it Salisbury
A - yes
B - oh (SDA 1981:127)

Berry's suggestion then is that alongside exchanges with a two part structure co-exist other types of exchanges with a three part structure. When in the three part structure the third element is predicted by the preceding move(s), its absence is marked and therefore constitutes a challenge, according to Burton's conceptualization. Berry thus adopts Burton's categories of challenging and supporting moves, according to which, well-formedness is characteristically marked by a supporting move.

The second step which Berry takes in broadening the basis for her model relates to the presence of simultaneous layer in the structure of the exchange, each layer having distinct functions. This approach is based on Halliday's work on the structure of the clause, where he suggests the presence of three simultaneous functions in the clause: Ideational - Interpersonal - and Textual[6]. Berry uses Halliday's categories in a restricted way. Nevertheless, this contribution is immensely valuable for application to discourse analysis, because it enables the discourse analyst to talk about similarities and differences in discourse (text) in a way which, as Berry points out, 'a single linear structure for each unit just does not' (SDA:121). This simply means that Berry has added ('vertically') the three part functional analysis form from Halliday - Interpersonal - Textual - Ideational - each of which have their own internal functions ('horizontally'). As a result Berry's model offers a further dimension: a paradigmatic relation, so to speak, co-exists simultaneously with

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6. See Halliday 1970, 1973 pp 38-44.

a syntagmatic relation in the structure of the exchange (see illustration on page 44).

For Berry, given an initiating move, three aspects are present in the exchange: a Textual aspect, an Interpersonal aspect and an Ideational aspect; (see illustrative example on page 44). This is because for an exchange to be well-formed the presence of three elements is obligatory: the verbal interaction must be initiated (this is marked in the Textual layer). The information must be negotiated and transmitted (this is marked in the Interpersonal layer of the discourse). The proposition in this initiation must be completed (this is marked in the Ideational layer).

The Textual layer of the exchange is where the turn-taking aspect is observed. The obligatory element in this layer is the first contribution of the first participant; its obligatoriness is obvious for otherwise there would be no talk. This contribution sets up expectations that other turns will be taken in an orderly way without any disruption until the information is transmitted. If, on the other hand, participants ignore the predicted turns or cause an interruption by talking out of turn (probably initiating an exchange of their own) before the information in the ongoing exchange is passed on properly, Berry calls this a challenge, using Burton's concept. Notice that the obligatory element in this layer is the first contribution therefore it is always in first position. Using one of Berry's examples we can map this obligatory function thus:

1st.contribution (1) A - in England, which cathedral has the tallest spire
(2) B - is it Salisbury
(3) A - yes
(4) B - oh

So as to formalize the unit of study Berry uses Coulthard and Brazil's suggestion that 'the exchange is the unit concerned with negotiating the transmission of information' (SDA:101); this negotiation takes place in the Interpersonal layer of discourse according to Berry: someone knows something and either offers to transmit it by initiating an informing move (inform exchange) or is required to transmit it by elicitation from the other participant. In the latter case the transmission of information occupies a responding slot. The internal functions below make up the Interpersonal layer of the exchange:

1. There is someone who knows the information. Berry calls him/her the 'primary knower'.
2. Then there is the person who receives the information. Berry calls him/her the 'secondary knower'.
3. The primary knower has the choice of giving the information straight away or he can delay it choosing instead to elicit it from the secondary knower. This function is called 'delayed knower 1'.
4. The secondary knower can choose to reinforce the state of his knowledge thus occupying the fourth slot which is labelled 'knower 2 F-up'.

Among the internal functions above the 'primary knower' is the obligatory function in the Interpersonal

layer. The absence of this element constitutes what Burton calls a challenge because one function that of the 'knower' transmitting information, has been withheld.

Mapping the Interpersonal layer onto the Textual layer of the exchange we see:

1st.contribution	(1) A -	in England, which cathedral has the tallest spire
	(2) B -	is it Salisbury
Delayed knower1	(3) A -	yes
	(4) B -	oh

We now have an obligatory function in contribution (1) - Textual layer - and another obligatory function in contribution (3) - Interpersonal layer -.

It is in the Ideational layer of the exchange that the information itself is present, making the propositonal content of the exchange complete. This completion is an obligatory element under all circumstances. The Ideational layer thus consists of up to three internal functions:

1. The propositional base is provided by the first participant who may be the 'primary knower' and chooses to delay his knowledge and elicits it from the 'secondary knower', (Labov's A-event); or it may be provided by the 'secondary knower' (Labov's B event) who may or may not know the information and requests it from A.
2. The proposition completion is the obligatory element in this layer and it can be fulfilled by the 'primary knower' or the 'secondary knower'. The absence of this element, as in the other

layers, marks a challenge, according to Burton's conceptualization.

3. After the proposition has been completed it can supported.

It is now possible to map all three functions onto the same example:

1st.contribution	(1) A -	in England, which cathedral has the tallest spire
Prop.completion	(2) B -	is it Salisbury
Delayed knower1	(3) A -	yes
Optional	(4) B -	oh

The configuration below gives another dimension of the same example:

	Initiation	**Response**	**Follow-up**	
Textual	(1) 1st.contri.	(2)	(3)	(4)
Interpersonal	(1)	(2)	(3) Delayed knower1	(4)
Ideational	(1)	(2) Propo. completion	(3)	

Berry's contribution, in sum, lies in having brought the three-part vertical dimension from Halliday: the advantage is that an exchange can now be classified as part challenging and part supportive: for example, it can be interpersonally challenging but ideationally and textually supportive. Another example would be the absence of one or all of the obligatory functions. This is not unnecessary complication. In the real world or that of playscript as we have seen, ordinary dialogue is not simply supportive or simply challenging much of the time. What was needed was a theoretical framework which would accomodate itself to the relative complexity of discourse.

Now I want to return to the example from Lord of the Flies (on page 25 and again on page 33) to see what Berry's adaptation of the model can do that the others cannot:

(Jack)	"We've got to decide about being rescued." There was a buzz. ...	(I) Inf
(Ralph)	"Shut up," said Ralph absently. He lifted the conch. "Seems to me we ought to have a chief to decide things."	(I) Inf cha
(Others)	"A chief! A chief!"	(R) Ack
(Jack)	"I ought to be chief," said Jack with simple arrogance, "because I'm chapter chorister and head boy. I can sing C sharp." (:23)	(I) Inf cha

Now we can also say that because participants did not supply the expected act predicted by the initiation they have challenged the exchange on the Textual level. As a result of this choice the information started at the opening move does not get developed instead other informative is introduced thus challenging the exchange on the Interpersonal level. Finally, since the proposition started at the initiation did not get completed the exchange is challenged on the Ideational level.

So far I have outlined and exemplified three theoretical models of conversation. My intention now is first, to make some considerations and clarify what aspects of those accounts I will use in the analysis of conversation in Lord of the Flies. My procedure will have an eclectic flavour as it were, in order to avoid - as other researchers have worded it so well - 'forcing data into existing categories'. There is a need to select and to

assemble the relevant features from each approach. Secondly, I suggest the addition of nuances to be attached to Berry's Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational aspects of the exchange in order to expand the Acts which form the Challenging and Supporting Moves.

Considerations:

I find that the most interesting feature in all three conversational models is Burton's **Topic Exchange** unit and its **Challenging** and **Supporting** Moves in particular. The reason for this preference is that my purpose in the analysis of Lord of the Flies is to see how conflict in the group is reflected in the verbal interaction between the characters, especially in the way the topics are treated. Therefore, I want to make an attempt at pin-pointing what constitutes a challenge for the present study. For this purpose Burton's decision to follow the concepts of: 'discourse-topic steps (according to Keenan and Schieffelin), 'discourse framework' and Labov's 'rules for interpretation for requests', is most useful, especially, 'discourse-topic steps'. Since for most of the analysis I will be interpreting which 'discourse-topic steps' were taken in the pseudo-conversation, I want at this point to look more closely at this notion in relation to Challenging Moves characterization:

a) the addressee does not receive the message.
b) he receives it but cannot interpret its elements.
c) he can interpret the utterance but cannot see its relevance to the discourse either in terms of its perceived propositional content or in terms of its perceived illucutionary value.

d) he wishes to challenge a perceived presupposition which may be propositioned or to do with the felicity conditions behind the perceived illocutionary value of the utterance.
e) he refuses to cooperate in the discourse either because it is potentially embarassing to him (see Gofman 1972) or because he wishes to assert his status by exercising the option of non-cooperation. (my emphasis) (ELRJ, n.2,1981:23/24)

The 'discourse-topic steps' shown above will give useful guidance to interprete Challenging and Supporting Moves **especially** because Jack's and Ralph's conversational patterns reflect most of the elements from (a) to (d) but it particularly reflect the elements underlined (my emphasis) in (e).

Model of Analysis

The unit of analysis to be used in the study is the **Topic Exchange** unit preceded (optionally) by a **Pre-topic Exchange** in the terms postulated above following Burton's conceptualization. The structure of the unit of analysis specified above has five Moves: **Opening Move, Supporting Move, Challenging Move, Bound-opening Move** and **Reopening Move.** The Acts in these Moves are the same ones in Burton's adaptation of the original model (They are attached to this dissertation, see Appendix III on pages 106 and 107)

In order to put together the elements of the three models which can best enhance the analysis I have expanded

Burton's notion of Supporting and Challenging Moves on pages 28 and 29 to include Berry's notion that Supporting and Challenging Moves occur in the three layers of discourse: **Textual** layer, **Interpersonal** layer and in the **Ideational** layer. I have also - using the same concepts and terms from the expansion below, organized the Acts which are present in the three layers of discourse when a Challenging or Supporting Move occur. (For those Acts see Appendix IV page108)

Now to the expansion:

Given an opening move by speaker A, B has several **supportive** options: first, taking his turn in the appropriate sequence, making his contribution fit the type of Act predicted by the initiating move, thus supporting the move on the Textual level. Second, behaving politely, possibly praising A, comply with the presuppositions in the preceding move, supporting the move on the Interpersonal level. Third, completing the discourse propositions, supplying the necessary information to facilitate the development of the ongoing topic thus supporting the move on the Ideational or topic level. To **challenge** he has the choice of not supporting the move by not taking his turn in the sequence of talk, ignoring his turn; he can interrupt the ongoing conversation, contribute a non-reciprocal Act or refuse to give or take a turn, ignore a prompt, challenging the exchange on the Textual level. Second, he can disagree, be impolite, possibly insult A, not accepting the presuppositions in the preceding move, challenging A on the Interpersonal level. Finally he has the choice of taking a turn to negate the presupposition in the previous move or introduce a topic of his own or to preempt the ongoing

topic, thereby disrupting the presentation and development of the ongoing topic initiated by A, challenging it on the Ideational level.

Notice that according to Berry for the exchange to be well formed it has to be supported on all three levels of discourse. A supporting move, then, has to be well-formed on the Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational levels. Appendix IV shows these three categories with their respective Acts. For Berry the exchange, as well as being the unit where the transmission of information is negotiated (Interpersonal level), is also where turns are taken (Textual layer) and propositions are completed (Ideational layer). I also see that it is in the Interpersonal layer of discourse that participants' attitudes are observed.

If we look at the example from Lord of the Flies on page 25 we can now talk about who took turns to Initiate and to Respond; we can also talk about the significance of there not being a Response but another Initiation because of the concepts of Challenging and Supporting Moves; we can also say where in the discourse the Challenge took place: on the Interpersonal, Textual and/or Ideational layers. Finally we can interpret the participants' attitudes towards one another: amicable, hostile or neutral.

My concern is to follow the line of thoughts as I have set out at the beginning of the present work. For this reason, before I move on to see how this model of analysis works to explain long stretches of dialogue in the novel I want to discuss the significance of names in Literature with particular reference to Lord of the Flies. Then I will present the different forms of address and of reference

used in the book by the characters and by the implied author. The purpose is to draw attention to the significance of this for a better understanding of the work as a whole.

CHAPTER III

NAMING: Forms of Address and Reference

> What's in a name? That which we call a rose
> By any other name would smell as sweet;
> (Romeo and Juliet, II.ii.772)

Names in Literature

Despite what Shakespeare claims, people in fact attach a lot of meaning and value to proper names, considering them a label of personality central to the self. Traditionally, both in real life and in the world of fantasy, names have some sort of magic power attached to them. In fairy tales, for instance, to find out names is to weaken magic powers. The idea that names are close to the centre of people's personalities can also be appreciated from the fact that psychologically disturbed people, particularly those with schizophrenia or multiple personality problems, take different names for their different personalities, thus identifying their selves with their names. The phenomenon has naturally been carried over into fiction: every time Walter Mitty has a fantasy he takes on a different name to fit the character, and it is no coincidence that Doctor Jekyll becomes Mr. Hyde every time he drinks a certain potion which frees his libido.

The fact that proper names, in real life, have hardly any 'sense' does not imply that they are not motivated. It is

customary, in many countries, to name a child after a close relative, or after a much-admired person. When most parents choose names for their children they do so very carefully, examining the potential range of secondary meanings which certain names might suggest or imply. This motivation however, does not reflect inherent quality in the person named in the way that a nickname might.

In novels, as opposed to real life, we expect some stronger motivation. We expect the writer to have an aesthetic purpose in choosing names which are in some way special and contribute to further the meaning of the novel.

The Pilgrim's Progress is the extreme example of the type of significant motivation I have been discussing.

The names of all the charaters and places represent abstract concepts and religious ideas of virtues and vices: 'Christian' meets 'Evangelist' who tells him to leave his city ('City of Destruction') where 'Christian' was afraid to die in sin, in search of the 'Celestial City'. 'Christian' is followed by two of his neighbours who want to bring him back to his wife and children. 'Obstinate' refuses to be convinced to follow 'Christian' and turns back. 'Pliable' is easily convinced, following 'Christian' until they reach the 'Slough of Despond' where 'Pliable' despondently leaves 'Christian' "to tumble in the Slough of Despond alone" (:17)

'Christian' finally find his way to the 'Celestial City', not without tribulations. On his way he meets such characters as 'Faithful' and 'Hopeful', and goes through places like 'the Valley of the Shadow of Death' and 'Vanity Fair'. The names of the characters and places in Bunyan's work are not conventional names, because the work is a

religious allegory. The characters' names are motivated by the meaning of the moral lesson; their role and names are thus inseparable labels. As characters they have little or no personal 'self'.

The significance of nicknames is even more crucial. Frederick Forsyth, in a book of short stories (No Comebacks) offers a light and interesting view about the importance of nicknames. In the quote below we see how nicknames can affect the 'self' in the characters:

> There was a man once who reckoned that human beings tend to imitate the nicknames given them in an idle moment. Call a man "Butch" and he will swagger; call him "Killer" and he will walk around with narrowed eyes and try to talk like Bogart. (...) Samuel Nutkin was just ten years old when a boy at school who had read the tales of Beatrix Potter called him Squirrel, and he was doomed. (...) In the forest of the City he was, like his nickname, a friendly, harmless creature, ... (:128-9)

A nickname, therefore, may evoke strong secondary meanings, sometimes of a hostile kind (eg. Piggy), where names or some personal features are only slightly suggestive of them.

Dom Casmurro (Machado de Assis, 1899) is the title of the book and the nickname of the main character, Bento, who becomes 'casmurro' (casmurro signifying misanthropist) in the story, nicknamed thus by the neighbourhood. The sad, lonely narrator looks back on his life and comments:

> Eu não era casmurro, nem dom casmurro (:72)

Unlike proper names nicknames are usually motivated by some specific, usually intrinsic, characteristic such as 'casmurro'. Furthermore, this motivation can derive either from personal qualities, like 'casmurro', or, occasionally, traditions linking the proper name with a traditional pseudonym. For example: Henry ⟶ Harry, in Spanish José ⟶ Pepe, surname Clarke ⟶ Nobby Clarke. A traditional nickname however, does not suggest a personal feature in the way that the labels 'casmurro' or 'Piggy' do; those two labels are more likely to affect behaviour because they are descriptive of some specific personal characteristic, as we see with Piggy.

Names in Lord of the Flies

We are given reasons to suppose that naming is important in Lord of the Flies from the start: the title of the book is a name. "What Simon 'sees' is the Lord of the Flies, Baal-Zebub" (Kinkead-Weekes and Gregor, 1967:43). As Tiger points out Baal-Zebub is "the Hebraic original for its English translation, lord of the flies [II Kings i.2]; 'the chief of the devils' in Luke ii.15 " (1974:44). Beelzebub is the Greek version of the name.

Golding's critics have suggested that there is a cryptogram set for the reader in the title 'Baalzebub' ('fly lord'), as in Aramaic this can be translated into English as 'lord of the flies' or as 'lord of dung', uniting the evil motif to the excremental details in the story.

The cryptogram idea can be further extended to include Milton's fallen angel Beelzebub, Satan's mate in power and crime, who speaks to the other fallen angels about taking revenge on God. Deciding that to attack Heaven is the wrong strategy, Beelzebub plots to get his revenge on God's "new race, called Man" (Book II:349), who have been "left to their defence" (Book II.362). In a similar tone we hear the 'beast' talk to Simon in Lord of the Flies: "there isn't anyone to help you. Only me".(:158)

Lost and deserted on the island, the boys, like God's 'new race', have been forgotten, left to succumb to their own evil, thus making sense of the "beast's" words:

> I'm the reason why it's no go? Why things are what they are? (:158)

It is not only the title, Lord of the Flies, which contains references of this type, of course. There are fairly clear allusions to The Coral Island and we know that Golding has deliberately chosen to make the links with the 1858 classic explicit, and uses names as one of the devices for this.

Golding explains his decision to take Ballantyne's theme thus:

> (...) I decided to take the literary conventions of boys on an island, only make them real boys instead of paper cutouts with no life in them (...) (1970:88)

Golding's intended readership at the time Lord of the Flies was published, 1954, would mostly have read The Coral

Island (and Treasure Island for that matter); so he would expect his story to be read against a background of the emotions and expectations set up by those classic boys' stories which could induce the reader to question the notions of the civilized and savage as portrayed in Ballantyne's story. Hence, the deliberate cross-reference to The Coral Island (two of the boys' names, the island, hunting pigs, the candle tree, etc.,) made immediately explicit by Golding's choice of names for his characters, is intended to emphasize his theme: by contrasting Ballantyne's view that evil rises from savages - pirates and cannibals - Golding emphasizes his own, that evil is innate in man, civilized or not.

I have argued above, what for some people may seem obvious:writers of fiction choose names for their characters advisedly. However, before I delve any further into the matter of labelling in Lord of the Flies, I want to consider some further aspects about naming.

From a strictly linguistic point of view, most proper names have an entirely conventional nature; unlike the word 'rose' they hardly have any 'sense' or 'conceptual meaning' (Leech, 1974:23) in most cases apart from their componential features (+/-male) or (+/-female). This near absence of conceptual meaning in proper names is because in themselves they do not "identify individuals uniquely" but depend for their "referential assignment on an identification of a particular individual in a particular context" (Brown and Yule :210). Hence the meaning potential of names is intrinsically dependent on the context of situation for, only then can we "identify individuals uniquely". The interpretation of the meaning po[illegible] of the name then, can be analysed in

relation to the notion of marked and unmarked choices in the system of names. The notion of markedness is explained by John Lyons:

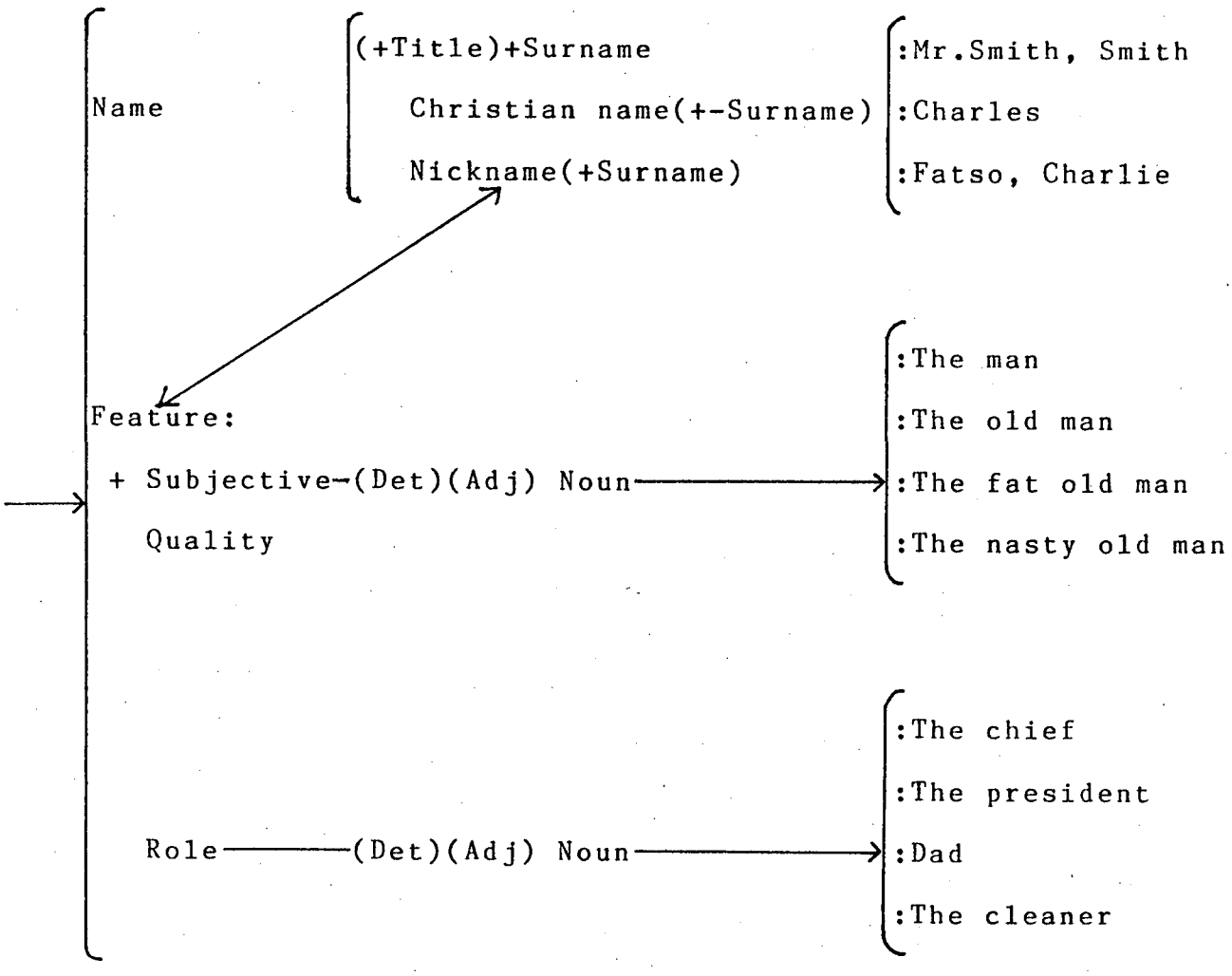
> ...the unmarked term has a more general sense, neutral with respect to a certain context ... (1968:79)

He exemplifies this with reference to pairs such as dog-bitch, in this case dog being 'unmarked' as to sex.

Whether in novels or in real life, to label someone is to provide a word or phrase which enables that person to be identified. This can be a proper name like John or Peter, or it can be descriptive of some quality: 'the fat boy'; or it can refer to a certain role: 'the chief'; or to social role or status: it is fit that Oscar Wilde's The Hon. Gwendolen Fairfax should be Gwendolen and not, say, Mary because of the associations in the social context which makes the former a more suitable name for someone of her social status.

In most cases in real life, once we know the name of a person, the choice to use the name as a label instead of any other type of label is the default or unmarked option. Any other option other than the default value one is marked. However, markedness wears away with time, as we see with Piggy: after a while the nickname becomes just a name, so that not to use it then becomes the marked choice. In this case we have to look for the significance in the change of label because it is the change that is then marked. The system of labelling options is structured thus:

Examples



When a speaker shows preference for a label other than the name he breaks a rule of normality; the hearer can then interpret it to mean that there is a further meaning in the communication to be attained. This characterises markedness and implies that for some reason the interaction takes another direction.

In most novels characters are introduced by default through features (the old man, the fair boy) in a way similar to the eye of the camera, then if sufficiently important the characters are given Names or Roles.

In Lord of the Flies after the characters are introduced by their names to use them instead of any other label is the default or unmarked option, though as explained above after the laughter and mockery which Piggy's nickname arouses the connotation gradually loses its quality as an insult and becomes just a Name. Another interesting point is that Jack's role 'chief' becomes his name later, unlike what happens to Ralph who does not change his name for his role.

In order to be able to expand on the significance of the different labels used by each character to refer to other characters or to address each other I now propose to examine Names in the form of a matrix (see Tables I, II and III below).

Table I shows characters as interlocutors addressing each other in the dialogue. Table II shows characters referring to other characters in the pseudo-conversation. Interactively speaking, the choice of those labels is even more significant because they are spoken by the characters (as opposed to given by the implied author) is pseudo face-to-face interaction. On one level they mark the characters' attitudes and feelings towards one another in a more realistic way; on another level they reflect the intention of the writer to make the story seem more like real life with real boys in it. Table III shows the implied author's choices of labels for the characters when 'showing' or 'telling' the story.

An empty box means that there is nothing to report. The underlined Names or labels (e.g. Fatty, Jack Merridew) show markedness in the choice in the system. I propose to discuss how meaningful to the interaction these options are

INTERLOCUTORS

	Piggy 1	Jack 2	Ralph 3	Others 4
Piggy a		Jack Merridew 77	Ralph 11,12,17x2,49, 50x2,71,72x2,73x2,101, 102,111,141,154,172x2, 173x2,179,180,182x2, 183x4,187x2,188,189, 190,191,196x2	Sam,Eric 20,182x2,187 litluns 91x2,92 kids 199 painted niggers 199 choir 21 Roger 68
Jack b	Fatty 23,49,78,98. Fat slug 99		Ralph 75x2,91,123,195	choir 21 Roger 68
Ralph c	Piggy 12x5,13,27,94, 108x2,141,142,153,154, 171,172x3,173x3,181, 185x2,189.	Jack 99x3,112x2,117,118, 129,141,198. beast,swine,thief 198		Simon 97,102,141 twins 108. Sam'n'Eric 109,180,182 209. Samneric 131, Bill 131 Roger 131, painted fools 197,littluns 187.
Others d	Piggy 23x3,91,184x6.	Merridew 22x4. Chief (Roger) 150, Chief 177,178x2.	(Simon) Ralph 71x2 (twins) Ralph 168x2,181, 207x2,208x4,209x2.	(Eric) Sam 107x4

TABLE I

REFERRED TO

	Piggy 1	Jack 2	Ralph 3	Others 4
Piggy a	Piggy 11, 26x2.	Jack 48,91,101,154, 156,163. Jack Merridew 141, 187,189. certain person 142. him 154.	Ralph 22,37,80,142, 143. Chief 102,172,191.	All them other kids 8. Johnny 22. Sam'n'Eric 22,153. Maurice 48. Simon 48,80,189. littluns 50x2,51x3, 171. hunters 138.
Jack b	Piggy 100,111,127, 129,130,139x2.	(not) Jack 22. Merridew 22. Chief 23,147,200. Explorer 27. hunter 91.	Explorer 27 Ralph 47x2,90,139x2, 140x2. coward 139.	(Simon)Explorer 27. Simon 111.hunters 55, 90,138x2,139,155,166, 176,178. littluns 90x2,110. crybabies,sisies 90 Bill 111,150.Walter 111, Henry 150.
Ralph c	(not) fatty 23,27. Piggy 23,27,44,73, 100,111x2,129x2,185, 188,193,195x2,196, 197.	Jack 24,25x2,37,100, 137,154,156,185,194, 207. Jack Merridew 102 hunter 114. chief 188. thief 195x3.	Ralph 9,22,206,207. Chief 24,88,89,100, 101,114,119,166x2, 195. (not) savages 188, 189,191.	choir 24,Simon 25,26, 37,55,59x3,131,146, 171,172. littluns 55,89,93,110, hunters 55,88,112, 166,185, Sam,Eric 197, Samneric 145,152,163. Robert 156.biguns 171.
Others d	Piggy 96,102,131x3, 189.	Jack 95,96,208. Jack Merridew 102. Chief 155,175,176x2, 208x3,209.	Him with the shell 24. Ralph 24x2,92,102. Him with the trumpet thing 24. chief 102x 2.	Johnny 19.Sam,Eric 22. Army/hunters 24.Phil 92. Bill 157.Percival Wemys Madison 94. Simon 101.Savages 157. tribe 208.Roger 175, 208x2,209x2,210. Wilfred 176x2.

TABLE II

IMPLIED AUTHOR

a

Piggy

voice 7x3. fat boy 8x6,9x4,10,11x3. Piggy 12x5,13x3,14x5,15x7,16x6,17x5, 18x2,19x5,20,22x4,23,24x3,26x5,27x2,35,37x5,38,39x2,42x4,43,44x3,45x2, 46x3,47,48x2,49x5,50x2,51x4,59,63,67,70x7,71x3,72x5,73x4,74,75,77x6,78x7, 79x2,80x6,84,85x4,86,91x2,92x3,94x6,95,97,98,99,100x3,101x2,102x3,103,104, 108,109,110,111x2,112x2,113,129x2,130,134,137x3,138x2,141x5,142x5,143x2, 144x4,145x5,146x3,152,153x3,154x4,155,156x4,157x2,162x5,163x7,164x6,165x5, 167,171x3,172x4,173x5,174x5,175,178,179,180x2,181x2,182x3,183x2,184x5, 185x3,186x2,187x4,188x4,189x3,190x4,191x5,192,193x3,194,195x2,196,197x2, 199x5,200x6,203,210x3,212,216,223. A voice 194. (not) chief 85.

b

Jack

the boy 21x3. tall boy 21, Merridew 22x6, Jack Merridew 23. Jack 23x4,24x3, 25x4,26x5,27x2,29x2,31x6,32x2,33x6,34,35,36x2,37x2,38x2,41x2,42x2,43x4,44x 4,45,46x3,47x3,49,51,52x2,53x5,54x5,55x2,56x4,57x3,58x3,59x4,60x3,61,68x6, 69x3,74x3,75x4,76x4,77x5,78x7,79x8,80x3,81x2,84,86x2,88,89x3,90x3,91x2,93, 95x3,96x2,97,98,99,100x2,110x3,111x4,112x2,113x2,114x6,115,116x4,117x3,119, 120x2,123x4,124x3,125x4,126x4,127x5,128,129x4,130x4,131x3,132x3,133x4,134x 4,135x5,137x2,138x6,139x6,140x5,141,143,146,147x3,148x4,149x4,150x2,151x3, 155x5,163,164x4,165x5,166x4,167x2,195x2,196x7,197x3,198x6,200,203,204,212x 2,213,214,223. chief 176x2,177x5,178x5,186x2,197,200,201x6,216. Idol 164. a voice 195. hunter 91.

c

Ralph

Fair haired 7x3,8x6.Fair boy 9. Ralph 10x3,11x6,12x4,13x6,14x4,15x5,16x8, 17x9,18x7,19x4,20x6,21x3,22x6,24x5,25x6,26x5,27x5,28x3,29x5,30,31,32,33x2, 35x4,36,38x5,39x4,40x4,41x3,42x5,43x3,44x5,45x3,46x2,47,49x3,50x2,51,54x6, 55x2,56,57x4,58x5,59x6,60,64x2,67,70x4,71x6,72x8,73x6,74x8,75x3,76x5,77x2, 78x4,79x10,80x3,81,82,83,84x2,85x8,86x3,87,88x4,89x3,90x3,92,93x4,94x7,96, 97x3,98x3,99,100x4,101x5,102,104,107,109x4,110x3,111x3,112x4,113x8,114x4, 115x3,116,117x4,118x3,119,120x5,121,122x6,123x3,124x3,125x4,126x4,127x5,128, 129x5,130x4,131x4,132x4,133x6,134x3,135x6,136,137x4,139,140,141x5,142,143, 144,145x4,146,152,153x3,154x4,155x4,156x5,157x3,162x4,163x9,164x7,165x6, 166x7,167,171x6,172x5,173,174x6,178,179,180x4,181x4,182x5,183x6,184,185x4, 186,187x5,188x5,190x6,191x5,192x3,193,194x7,195,196x10,197,198x7,199x6,200, 201,202x4,203,204x2,205x3,206x3,207,208,209,210x2,215x5,213x3,214x5,215x2, 216x2,217,218x2,219x4,220x2,221x6,222x6,223x2. outcast 205. scarecrow, kid 221. chief 84,85x3. the being 24.

TABLE III

by a close examinations of the unequal pairs. In this way I hope to see if the relationship between the characters is symmetrical or not, then to discuss the pairs which are not symmetrical.

The way in which Jack introduces himself to the group of boys leaves no doubt as to who is the most obvious leader:

"Why should I be Jack? I'm Merridew."(:22)

What most contributes to this judgement is the way in which Jack uses his surname '"I'm Merridew"' in contrast with the other boys who introduce themselves by their first names. Jack thus evokes the grown-up world (since there are no grown-ups in the island) where certain terms of address mark social distance. His intention to be seen as a social superior, therefore the obvious leader, is overtly marked in the way he introduces himself as 'Merridew' (table II.b.2) and says he is <u>not</u> Jack, echoing his public school world. Despite (or because of) his arrogance, Jack fails to convince the other boys to select him as their leader: instead he is simply Jack.

For Piggy he is Jack, (table II.a.2) unless Piggy wants to show his disapproval for Jack's behaviour: "You and your blood, Jack Merridew!" (table I.a.2). As the plot develops "Jack Merridew" starts to mean the savage, the savage tyrant; when the crisis approaches Piggy avoids even referring to Jack by his Name. Instead he is "a certain person" (table II.a.2) or "him" (table II.a.2). The implied author endorses it: "A taboo was evolving round that word" (:154). However, despite Piggy's dislike for Jack, he does not use abusive words

to address Jack or when he talks about Jack to the others. "Jack Merridew" is a distancing label; to understand what Piggy wants to imply when he uses it we have to read between the lines whereas, as we see above (table I.b.1), Jack overtly insults Piggy every time he addresses him. When Jack meets Piggy for the first time he treats Piggy with indifference and shows his dislike for the boy by avoiding interacting with him talking to Ralph instead. Piggy senses this antagonism. The unfriendly behaviour is also reflected in the way Piggy never addresses Jack by his first name and vice-versa. When Jack does address Piggy it is to openly show his hostility: "Shut up, Fatty" (:23). Jack tells Piggy to shut up, when he has no authority to do so, and calls him "fatty" (table I.b.1), thus insulting Piggy twice over. In Chapter V Jack addresses Piggy using even more abusive terms: "You shut up, you fat slug!" (:99). When Jack talks about Piggy he refers to him as 'Piggy' (table II.b.1), but all through the novel Jack never addresses Piggy by his nickname, using instead one of the labels shown on table I.b.1. The significance of this is that Jack returns descriptively to the original motivation for Piggy's name. Furthemore, the fact that when Jack refers to Piggy (table II.b.1) he uses his nickname but changes to another label every time he addresses Piggy explicitly marks his unfriendly and agressive manner towards Piggy.

Looking diagonally across the naming matrix (table I.b.1 and a.2) we see that when Piggy and Jack interact they address each other on very similar terms for they are equally hostile. The difference however, is that Jack uses abusive terms while Piggy uses Jack's full name (or

avoids it) to show his resentment. Furthemore, Piggy does this only once (table I.a.2) while Jack insults Piggy five times over (table I.b.1).

Ignoring Jack's concern about names, the boys 'elect' "him with the shell" (table II.d.3). "Let him be chief with the trumpet-thing" (:24). Once he is democratically elected, their leader is 'Ralph' to everyone. The fact that he keeps reminding them, especially Jack, that he is the 'chief' (table II.c.3) is significant, for it reflects Ralph's insecurity and his need for support to fulfil his role. Apart from Piggy and Simon (table II.a.3 and d.3) nobody except the implied author (table III.c) talks to Ralph or refers to him as 'chief'. For Jack he is Ralph; as we see in the naming matrix (table I.b.3,c.2) the two characters address each other on perfectly equal terms as peers, up to when Jack refers to Ralph publicly as a coward (table II.b.3). At another occasion Ralph looses his temper with Jack and swears at him: "you're a beast and a swine and a bloody, bloody thief!" (:198) before they start a fight. Thus the undercurrent of distrust and hostility is made explict in their choice of these labels.

This conflict is again present in chapter V when Ralph refers to Jack as "Jack Merridew"; his use of the full name has some further meaning: Ralph has just been defeated in his carefully constructed argument to the assembly. Jack's argument "If there a beast we will kill it" defeats Ralph's first premise: "there is no beast". Once again Jack breaks up the assembly and incites the boys to follow him along the beach leaving Ralph behind. Ralph's role as chief is challenged again; Ralph knows that despite

Simon's and Piggy's reassurance he cannot ignore Jack's assertiveness:

> "Go on being chief." ... "you're chief an' he isn't."
> "But he's, he's, Jack Merridew!" (:102)

Ralph's outburst here sounds as if instead of 'Jack Merridew' he wants to say something more, for he is not only Jack he is 'Jack Merridew' the boy who impressed Ralph from the start in the words of the implied author:

> This was the voice of one who knew his own mind (:22)

Once Jack proclaims himself chief "I'm going to be chief" (:147), he is no longer Jack or Jack Merridew but 'Chief' (tables I.d.2, II.c.2,d.2, III.b). In this way he enacts his role of 'chief' and loses his personality as Jack thus acting freely under his mask and paint. His tribe address him as 'chief' and refer to him as "The Chief has spoken" (:155), which makes his role even more realistic. The implied author also refers to him as the chief: "went on the Chief" (table III.2). This modulating point of view is very significant when we consider that the implied author does not refer to Ralph as 'chief' with the same frequency, leaving us to wonder whether the implied author is committing himself to one character more than to another. This point becomes even more obscure when in Chapter XII we see a clear shift in point of view, for the implied author takes over Ralph's mind, interpreting Ralph's thoughts:

> And supposing, instead of them, he met the Chief (:216)

Now defenceless and trapped by the savages Ralph subconsciously accepts Jack as leader (chief), just as he subconsciously desires to be a hunter himself. This is given us to see because of the shift in point of view discussed above.

This last part of the present discussion about naming in Lord of the Flies focuses on how by design rather than by accident we never get to know Piggy's real name. He is first introduced through the implied author's comments as "it said" (:8), refering to the voice which comes from "among the creepers and broken trunks" (:8). For the next four pages he is "the fat boy". Then in a last attempt to bring Ralph round to talk about the accident 'the fat boy' gives away his school nickname 'Piggy'. Later, when the boys are exchanging names Ralph, wanting to show Jack that he, Ralph, is in control, lets out the 'fat boy's' secret. Subsequently, the other boys use the nickname to make fun of Piggy, lowering his position in the group, making him an outsider.

It is ironic that Golding chooses not to give Piggy a proper Name when he is the one character in the story who wants to labeleverything and everybody to avoid chaos:

> "I expect we'll want to know their names," said the fat boy, "and make a list" (:11)

Golding's choice to give Piggy a descriptive nickname instead becomes more significant when we remember that pigs are hunted

and killed all through the story. Jack's blood-thirstiness and violence is extended to 'Piggy' who in a way is the last pig to be killed. In this way Golding once again uses names or labels to link to some further meaning which he wants to convey in the story.

I suggest that we can locate at least three places in the pseudo-conversation between the characters where Piggy could have introduced himself properly if the writer did not have other aesthetic purpose in mind. There are two occasions in the conversation between Piggy and Ralph before Piggy lets Ralph know his nickname; then later, during assembly 1, when the other boys are exchanging names.

To demonstrate this point I want to draw upon the theoretical model of conversation developed in Chapter II. The intention is to examine three stretches of dialogue (see pages 70,73,76) closely to see how Piggy, misses his opportunity in the sequence of conversation, to tell his real name. This examination focuses on the interactive nature of the dialogue in order to see when:

a) turn-taking is disrupted

b) information is withheld or questions are left unanswered

c) when there is topic conflict or failure to complete an initiated proposition, especially when there is a request for a response

Analysis of the dialogue

The first boy (now Piggy) pleased to see another survivor, naturally greets the other boy (now Ralph) who, in a world of his own, ignores this simple gesture of acquaintance since he does not respond to the greeting, thus challenging the exchange on the Textual level (1,2)[7]. Piggy then asks a direct question (4) which only yields a head shake from Ralph. Ralph takes a turn (5) to contribute with what we at first think is a proper reply (to 4) but instead he initiates his own topic. This marks a challenge on the Textual level for he takes a turn to contribute with an informative instead of a reply to the elicitation. Starting his topic (in 5) Ralph is also challenging the content of the previous proposition thus challenging the exchange on the Ideational level. The reason why we at first think Ralph is giving a reply to Piggy's question is because we assume that 'grown-ups' (in 5) refers back to 'the man with the megaphone' (4) which would complete the proposition. But what Ralph means when he answers 4 is: I wish for no grown-ups in the island, native or otherwise.

Piggy takes the next turn to reopen his topic again, this time he chooses something more specific, 'that pilot' (6) which connects to his initial idea: grown-ups in the plane who might be on the island. Piggy is seen to want to talk about the plane, 'the passenger tube', while Ralph is only interested in the island itself. Piggy still fails to get any response to his reopening (6) so he goes on to a related topic (7)

— — — —

7. The numbers inside brackets which appear in the text refer to the contributions by the participants in the dialogue being analysed.

DIALOGUE FROM LORD OF THE FLIES (1st stretch)

(page 7)

1 - (it said) "Hi!" ... "wait a minute!" ...
2 - (voice) "Wait a minute," ... "I got caught up." ...
3 - (voice) "I can't hardly move with all these creepers things." ...
4 - (voice) "Where's the man with the megaphone?"

(page 8)

5 - (fair boy) "This is an island. At least I think it's an island. That's a reef out in the sea. Perhaps there aren't any grown-ups anywhere." ...
6 - (fat boy) "There was that pilot. But he wasn't in the passenger tube, he was up in the cabin in front." ...
7 - (fat boy) "All them other kids," ... "Some of them must have got out. They must have, mustn't they?" ...
8 - (fat boy) "Aren't there any grown-ups at all?"
9 - (fair boy) "I don't think so." ...
10- (fat boy) "No grown-ups!" ...
11- (fat boy) "That pilot." ...
12- (fair boy) "He must have flown off after he dropped us. He couldn't land here. Not in a plane with wheels." ...
13- (fat boy) "We was attacked!"
14- (fair boy) "He'll be back all right." ...
15- (fat boy) "When we was coming down I looked through one of them windows. I saw the other part of the plane. There were flames coming out of it."
16- (fat boy) "And this is what the tube done".

(page 9)

17- (fair boy) "What happened to it?" ..."Where's it got to now?"
18- (fat boy) "That storm dragged it out to sea. It wasn't half dangerous with all them tree trunks falling. There must have been some kids still in it." ...
19- (fat boy) "What's your name?"
20- (fair boy) "Ralph."
The fat boy waited to be asked his name in turn but this proffer of acquaintance was not made.
21- (fat boy) "I expect there's a lot more of us scattered about. You haven't seen any others have you?"

asking another question which is again not answered and this absence signals a challenge on the three levels of discourse. Piggy still insists on engaging Ralph in his topic (grown-ups on the island, 4,6). He takes the next turn (8) to reformulate his question in a more general way so as to include Ralph's idea (in 5).

This is the first complete exchange between the two boys (8,9). However, Piggy's topic has once again been closed by Ralph, only this time in a friendly manner. Not satisfied Piggy returns (11) to the same idea (in 6) plane-disaster-pilot to reopen his topic again. Ralph takes a turn (12) to apparently expand Piggy's reopening but it is ineffective because Piggy knows (and the reader too) that Ralph's claim "He must have flown off after he dropped us" referring to the pilot, is not true. Piggy bluntly gives Ralph a piece of reality (13) - telling Ralph they were attacked - rejecting Ralph's proposition (in 12) thus challenging the exchange on the Ideational level. Ralph does not change his position in the argument and takes his turn (14) to reinforce it (12). He dismisses the proposition (in 13) which Piggy has introduced thus challenging the exchange on the Ideational level.

Up to now we can interprete Ralph's attitude of non-commitment to Piggy's topics as a refusal to accept Piggy's view of the situation. This includes not accepting the urgency with which Piggy tries to discuss the disaster. Nevertheless, when in contributions 15 and 16 Piggy provides more facts about the situation Ralph becomes interested and asks a question (17) to which Piggy promptly answers (18).

Feeling confident, because he has finally engaged Ralph in his topic (17) and also because Piggy wants to hold

Ralph's attention, he becomes more personal and asks the other boy's name (19). The interaction shows a more positive sign now; after 17 and 18 another complete exchange has been achieved (19 and 20). This last pair however, raises expectations that Ralph must now take a turn to ask the other boy's name. The glossing warrants this claim:

> the fat boy waited to be asked his name in turn but this proffer of acquaintance was not made (:9)

The fact that Ralph does not provide the expected contribution marks a challenge and is significant because in my view this is the first place in the pseudo-conversation where the 'fay boy' had an opportunity to introduce himself properly if the writer did not have some other purpose in mind.

In the second stretch of dialogue (page 73) we see that the lack of interest which Ralph shows towards Piggy's topics and to his person sets the interaction back again. In 21 Piggy is again left without an answer. He then searches for topics which may interest Ralph and opts for something more personal on neutral grounds (22). This strategy works well since Ralph wants to know more (23) about Piggy's asthma. Piggy's Opening (22) Ralph's Supporting (23) and Piggy's expansion of his opening (in 24) provide a complete, cooperative and orderly topic exchange this time.

However, in the next eight contributions we see Piggy talking to himself most of the time. He takes repeated turns and there is a hint that something is wrong with him. We take the hint from the disconnected discourse (25 to 31) for he does not finish what he starts to say. Ralph, typically, takes

DIALOGUE FROM LORD OF THE FLIES (2nd stretch)

(page 9)

21 - (fat boy) "I expect there's a lot more of us scattered about. You haven't seen any others have you?"

22 - (fat boy) "My auntie told me not to run," ... "on account of my asthma."

23 - (Ralph) "Ass-mar?"

24 - (fat boy) "That's right. Can't catch me breath. I was the only boy in our school what had asthma," ... "And I've been wearing specs since I was three." ...

25 -(fat boy) "Them fruit."

26 - (fat boy) "Them fruit," ... "I expect - - -" ...

27 - (fat boy) "I'll be out again in just a minute - - -"

(page 11)

28 - (fat boy) "Ralph - - -"

29 - (fat boy) "I'm sorry I been such a time. Them fruit - - -" ...

30 - (fat boy) "My auntie - - -" ...

31 - (fat boy) "There!"

32 - (fat boy) "I expect we'll want to know their names," ... "and make a list. We ought to have a meeting."
Ralph did not take the hint so the fat boy was forced to continue.

33 - (fat boy) "I don't care what they call me," ..."so long as they don't call me what they used to call me at school." ...

34 - (Ralph) "What was that?"

35 - (fat boy) "They use to call me 'Piggy'."

(page 12)

36 - (Ralph) "Piggy! Piggy!"

37 - (Piggy) "Ralph - - - please!" ...

38 - (Piggy) "I said I didn't want - - -"

39 - (Ralph) "Piggy! Piggy!"

40 - (Ralph) "Sche-aa-au!"

41 - (Ralph) "Piggy!"
Piggy grinned reluctantly, please despite himself at even this much recognition.

42 - (Piggy) "So long as you don't tell the others - - -"

no notice of Piggy's troubles. When Piggy recovers he returns to his topic 'name' (32) and seems to still expect Ralph to ask his name as Ralph should have done after 20. It is interesting how the text again comments on the discourse: '"Ralph did not take the hint so the fat boy was forced to continue"' (:11). To me, at this point, the text suggests another occasion where Piggy could have been asked his name by Ralph if the writer did not have other plans in mind. The glossing also shows how Piggy cared that Ralph did not want to get closer to him by asking his name spontaneously.

Piggy once again moves the topic to a personal level (33) Ralph shows interest and asks more about it (34); in 35 Piggy cannot resist the chance to hold Ralph's attention and lets out his secret nickname. Piggy's unfortunate nickname draws laughter and mockery from Ralph who ignores Piggy's pleading to stop calling him by his nickname which at this point carries its full insult value. Ralph is thus seen to have challenged Piggy's exchange on the Textual layer for he does not take his turns when they are expected (following the rules of orderly talk) on the Interpersonal layer he is seen to provide other Acts than the ones predicted by the previous contributions. Furthemore, he mocks and insults Piggy (36, 39, 41), further challenging the exchange on the Interpersonal layer. On the Ideational layer we see Ralph refusing to cooperate to develop the propositions (in 21 and in 32) which Piggy introduces, thus challenging the exchange.

It is interesting to notice how Piggy has to juggle with different topics in order to have Ralph's attention or support. Ralph however, is reluctant to enter Piggy's reality and has asserted himself as a result. He avoids becoming too

familiar or friendly with Piggy by asking his name in turn for example. This reluctance is motivated partly because Piggy speaks with the voice of reason (of which Ralph does not want to hear) and partly because Ralph wants to have the upper hand which he does in the end as we see confirmed:

> Piggy grinned reluctantly, pleased despite himself at even this much recognition (:12)

The third stretch of dialogue to be considered (page 76) is during the first gathering after the shell has been blown to summon the survivors. Piggy controls the meeting and the topic 'names'. He asks and reports their names (106, 110,112) but fails to say his own in public before his nick-name becomes known. Johnny arrives, then the indistinguishable Sam n' Eric, then the choir. All three contributions -107, 108 109- refer back to Piggy's topic 'name' (in 106) supporting it since they all offer relevant information which expands the topic (bop). To me, at this point, the text again suggests a favourable opportunity in the normal flow of discourse for Piggy to introduce himself (110); instead he takes this turn to say something of little significance.

Merridew takes the next turn (111) to disagree with the ongoing talk and openly refutes Piggy's topic 'names'. Piggy loses control of the situation as a result (112) and Jack takes a turn (113) to insult Piggy openly. Jack thus challenges the exchange on the Interpersonal level for he first accuses Piggy of doing too much talk, then he tells Piggy to shut up forbidding him to talk; on top of all this Jack insults Piggy who now is also "Fatty". Ralph attempts to

DIALOGUE FROM LORD OF THE FLIES (3rd stretch)

(page 22)

106 - (Piggy) "That's why Ralph made a meeting. So as we can decide what to do. We've heard names. That's Johhny. Those two-- they're twins, Sam 'n Eric. Which is Eric--? you? No-- you're Sam - - -"

107 - "I'm Sam - - -"

108 - " 'N I'm Eric."

109 - (Ralph) "We'd better all have names," ... "So I'm Ralph."

110 - (Piggy) "We got most names," ... "Got 'em just now."

111 -(Merridew) "Kids' names," ..."Why should I be Jack? I'm Merridew"...

112 -(Piggy) "Then," ... "that boy -- I forget - - -"

(page 23)

113 -(Merridew) "You're talking too much," ..."Shut up, Fatty."

114 - (Ralph) "He's not Fatty," ... "his real name's Piggy!"

115 - (All) "Piggy!"

"Piggy!

"Oh, Piggy!"

get the situation under control and volunteers Piggy's nickname given to him as a secret (114) resulting in more laughter and mockery. Piggy is thus labelled in public and the label becomes his Name.

In the present Chapter I have discussed the significance of names and nicknames in real life and in Literature as a lead on to the major issue in this chapter namely to look closely at forms of naming in Lord of the Flies. The purpose is to analyse the different forms of address and reference used by the characters and by the implied author so as to highlight other meaningful devices which the writer uses.

To sum up, the most interesting aspects of the analyses are: first, when the characters choose not to use the default or unmarked choice of Names when they address each other or when they reffer to each other. Jack for instance, every time he addresses Piggy, he chooses labels which also communicate his disapproval for the boy. Jack's hostile attitude is thus characterized by his marked choice of Names.

Another interesting aspect in the analysis is the fact that unlike Jack, Ralph's role as chief does not become his Name. Every time the other characters or the implied author reffer to Jack or address him as 'Chief' there is conviction in the way they use the label which becomes a Name, Jack's Name.

Finally, through the analysis of three stretches of dialogue we can locate three instances where in the normal flow of conversation Piggy could have said his real name if the writer did not have other plans in mind. The significance of this for the present study is that it lends another dimension to Piggy's role in the story; it also discloses other devices which the writer uses to convey the magnitude of his work.

Now, I want to move on to Chapter IV to see how the way in which the topics of conversation are treated reflect the power shifting from one boy to the other.

CHAPTER IV

POWER SHIFTING PROCESS

> He paused for a moment and they both pushed their anger away.
> Then he went on with the safe, changed subject.
> (:56) (my emphasis)

The major concern in this chapter is to progress towards answers to the second question posed in chapter I, namely how is conflict brought out in the text structure and function in Lord of the Flies

In chapter III, I have already provided some relevant insights when I discussed the significance of the marked options in the naming system which reflect the theme of conflict. The contribution to the study in this chapter focuses on a linguistic analysis of the dialogue between the major characters concentrating on topic presentation and management in the assemblies. The objective of the analysis is to find out how the control over the group shifting from Ralph to Jack is reflected in the structure and function of the text, i.e., in the way the characters interact with one another in the conversation, choosing to be cooperative or to be disruptive for example. I draw upon the theoretical framework introduced in chapter II for the concepts and terminology used in the analysis and for the interpretation of the results of the analysis.

However, before I go any further, it is important to explain certain decisions which had to be taken to make the study possible.

It has been made clear in the introduction to the present work that the power struggle in Lord of the Flies is for leadership of the group. This conflict or struggle, in my opinion, would be best represented in the speech of the characters, mainly in the discussions during the **assemblies**, because the two opposite sides -Jack and Ralph- would be canvassing for public suport every time they had an assembly. Conflict then would be a prominent feature in the meetings and all the more relevant for the present study because of its public nature.

The decision to look at particular **topics** in the assemblies is based on the underlying importance of these topics in the book, an importance which can be justified by the existence of overt clues (see quotation which introduces chapter IV) in the text. This aspect motivates a more detailed examination of why there are certain topics which particular characters want to avoid thus blocking their development in some way. For example, in assembly II Ralph tries to close the topic 'snake thing' 5 times: "But there isn't a beastie!" (:40). He wants to avoid further development of the topic so as not to frighten the boys even more; if they start talking about 'beastie' and 'ghost' the assembly will turn into chaos. In this way we see that certain topics serve to unite the group (food, feast) whereas others seem to split the group (snakes, beast, ghost) causing unrest and chaos.

Another feature worthy of notice is that there are topics which are preempted by characters leaving the Intiator of that topic empty-handed. Also there are topics which are private or personal (i.e., rescue versus hunt as we see in the example below). After Ralph is voted 'Chief' he makes

'rescue' his priority taking over the idea, which, ironically, was first introduced by Jack: "We'll have to decide about being rescued" (:23). From then on, Ralph's favourite topics of conversation are related to rescue: fire on the mountain, 'ship', 'smoke'. In the same way 'hunting' becomes Jack's favourite topic after it is first introduced by Ralph (:24). 'Rescue' and 'hunting' therefore become alternative options as the book develops, and the source of much conflict between the two boys.

Another reason to choose to examine the topics in the assemblies is that most of them are pre-selected for the occasion:

> the time had come for the assembly ... he went carefully over the points of his speech. (:83)

Finally, I have picked out from seven assemblies those few topics which are particularly significant or prominent in the interaction between Jack and Ralph. One way of selecting a topic as significant was its importance to the boys, reflected in its frequency of mention (eg. safety, rescue, the beast, rules of turn-taking, etc.,). This is also linked to the notion of marked and unmarked choices (cf. Lyons) discussed in Chapter III,page 57 above. Thus the choice which each participant exercises over one topic more than another - to get it developed or quashed, for example - marks that topic as important in the interaction.

The criterion for topic boundary is entirely borrowed from Brown and Yule (1983:69). Where there is no explicit marker of topic boundary (their examples of explicit markers are expressions of the type "Once upon a time ... and they lived

happily ever after. ... Have you heard the one about? ...Did I tell you what happened to me last week?") like "And another thing" (:36) I have appealed "to an intuitive notion of topic" as Brown and Yule suggest: their example is when participants stop talking about money and start talking about sex.Therefore one chunk of text is about one thing and the next is about something else. Here is an illustration from a stretch of dialogue between Ralph and Jack:

> "He's not Fatty," (cried Ralph) "his real name's Piggy!"
> "Piggy!" (cried the boys)
> "Piggy!"
> "Oh, Piggy!"
> (... Jack spoke)
> "We've got to decide about being rescued."

When Jack speaks the stretch of dialogue stops being about 'names' and is now about 'rescue'. Following a similar procedure I am looking at the interaction between Ralph and Jack only; this is because I am only interested here in topics which Ralph and Jack are involved with.

Much as it is the case of teacher-student interaction, the default condition is that topics in the assemblies are presented in a fairly orderly way and turn-taking is ruled according to possession of the conch as decided in assembly II. Therefore when the pattern of orderly talk is broken, this is all the more significant for the interaction and for the relationships, because it is the marked option.

Because I believe that the conflict for power is best represented in the speech of the characters, I am examining only the text in **dialogue** form of the seven public assemblies,

except when the implied author's comments - or 'stage directions' - are essential for contextualization.

The assemblies cover the time between when Jack is first introduced to the group and is rejected as their leader, to the time (assembly VI) when he again bids to become the leader and is ignored; he then announces that he is leaving the group and invites those who want fun and protection from the beast to follow him. In assemblies VI and VII he entices most of the community away from Ralph and declares himself chief thus explicitly taking over Ralph's role.

What the study shows is that although Jack is rejected at first (Chapter I), stays with the group and nominally agrees to share leadership, in fact he competes for leadership through all the assemblies. As a result it is possible to see that while Ralph tries to unite the community under his leadership, eg. by avoiding introducing and discussing 'unsafe' topics, Jack uses the resources available to him in terms of topic treatment in order to bid, successfully in the end, for power.

The analytical tables (see pages 86,87,88,89,90,91) presented in this section illustrate these points. The left-most column in each table, headed TOPIC, uses the criteria described above to represent units of meaning (Burton's "topic exchange units") from given chunks of dialogue in in each assembly. The remaining columns show how a topic initiated (second column) by one participant gets treated by others (columns three to ten). For example, as explained in Chapter II, given an Initiation by speaker A, speaker B can choose to SUPPORT it, which is represented as a Completion in column three. Alternatively speaker B can

CHALLENGE speaker A, with five options which indicate different types and degrees of challenge.

To Interrupt (fourth column), participant B chooses not to wait for his turn to contribute but instead breaks the flow of talk to introduce some new aspect, disrupting the management of the topic introduced by A. More frequent, however, is a Takeover (fifth column, appropriately), where B transforms the current topic into another to suit his own ends. For example, in Assembly II, Ralph initiates the topic 'safe island' but before he concludes Jack interrupts him to say that the island may be safe but all the same they need an army; he then corrects himself - an army for hunting. An interrupt is thus followed by a takeover, leading the topic in a new direction.

Preempting (sixth column) is akin to takeover, with the difference that in order for a preempt to occur B must not only takeover A's idea but also act upon it immediately, before A has a chance to do so himself. Again in Assembly II we find an example: Ralph announces the need for a fire as a signal to passing ships, Jack then immediately takes the boys off with him to make the fire, leaving Ralph empty-handed.

Ignore (seventh column) is self-explanatory; the difference between an Ignore and an Abandon is that in the latter case the topic is developed somewhat before it is dropped. In both cases the exchange is incomplete, as there is a lack of closure.

The ninth column handles two types of Close, which may be supportive or challenging. In the first case one of the participants agrees with an initiated proposition; in the second, he closes a topic prematurely, and aggressively. In

TOPIC TREATMENT Assembly I (:18 to 26)

TOPIC		SUPPORT	CHALLENGE						
1 to 4	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
names	Others							Jack*	
rescue]	Jack			Ralph(→ chief)					
chief]	Ralph			Jack				Ralph	
hunters	Ralph	Jack						Jack	
explore	Jack	Ralph						Ralph	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Key to symbols

] = topic shift

→ = indication of new emphasis in the topic

* = topic blocking within Close or Reopen

Assembly IV we see Ralph informing Jack that he is breaking the rules, at which Jack closes the topic by saying that he does not care about breaking the rules, thus terminating Ralph's topic.

The last column, Reopen, marks when participants bring back a previously closed topic. This also can be done in a challenging or supporting way. In assembly II Ralph close the topic 'snake thing' and Jack brings it back to challenge Ralph.

Two symbols used in the tables handle problems of topic-shift. The bracketing under TOPIC shows where one topic is elided into another, and the arrow under Takeover shows where the shift takes place, indicating who takes over and what he shifts it to.

A third symbol, the asterisk, indicates a Close or Reopen marked as having a blocking effect, usually at the expense of one of the participants.

The purpose in setting out the exchanges in this reductive form is to show overall changes and tendencies, which can contribute to a better understanding of Lord of the Flies.

TOPIC TREATMENT - Assembly II (:35 to 42)

TOPIC		SUPPORT	CHALLENGE						
5 to 8	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
safe island	Ralph		Jack	Jack(→ army/hunt)					
army/hunt	Jack			Ralph				Ralph	
rules conch	Ralph			Jack(→ rules)			x		
rules conch								Ralph	Ralph
snake thing	Others							Ralph*	Jack
snake thing				Jack(→ animal; kill it)					
if animal kill it								Jack	
rescue	Ralph	Others							Ralph
rescue fire		Others			Jack			Jack	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

TOPIC TREATMENT - Assembly III (:46 to 51)

TOPIC	SUPPORT			CHALLENGE					
9 to 11	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
fire no good	Others							Jack*	
rules: fire and conch	Ralph	Jack		Jack(⟶ choir now responsible for fire)					
				Others(⟶ this fire no good)					Others
this fire no good								Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

TOPIC TREATMENT - Assembly IV (:76 to 100)

TOPIC		SUPPORT	CHALLENGE						
12 to 15	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
Jack let fire go out	Ralph (accuse)	Jack (apologize)						Jack	
put things right:water, shelter,lavatory,etc.	Ralph	Ralph						Ralph	
now we talk about fear	Ralph			Jack(→ animal, ghost, beast)					
if animal etc. hunt and kill	Jack							Jack	
Jack breaking the rules	Ralph			Jack(→ who cares for rules)				Jack*	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

TOPIC TREATMENT - Assembly V (:109 to 112)

TOPIC	SUPPORT			CHALLENGE					
16 to 18	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
saw beast	Others			Jack(→ hunt beast)					
hunt beast	Jack	Ralph						Ralph	
no need for conch	Jack	Ralph		Ralph(→ yes need for conch					
								Ralph	
light the fire then hunt the beast	Ralph							Ralph	

19 to 20

Assembly VI (:138 to 141)

Ralph is no hunter, no chief; he is a coward	Jack					Others	x		
if Ralph is chief I'm leaving	Jack					Others	x	Jack	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

TOPIC TREATMENT _ Assembly VII (:156/157, 165 to 167)

TOPIC		SUPPORT	CHALLENGE						
21 to 24	Initiate	Complete	Interrupt	Takeover	Preempt	Ignore	Abandon	Close	Reopen
who'll join me	Jack					Others			
I'm chief, you voted me	Ralph					Jack		Ralph	
I'm chief I've food	Jack	Others				Ralph		Jack	
I'm chief	Jack	Others							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

The analytical tables on the preceding pages show a structural analysis of the assemblies in terms of who initiates a topic and how it is supported or challenged.

An interesting question to consider is which categories in the structure reflect this conflict for dominance which I am trying to unravel. The fifth column, Takeover and the sixth column Preempt, are the most significant ones in this respect because they both display dominance and conflict. To appreciate the importance of this answer we only need to remember that a participant who takes over another's Initiation and manages to transform the ongoing topic exchange to say what he wants instead, necessarily causes a degree of conflict; if he then manages to close the topic as he has developed it, -or act upon it before the Initiator has a chance to do so himself- he caps the conflict with successful dominance.

The tables show that in Assemblies I to V Ralph and Jack compete all the time to take over and to close topics in their new state. However, after Assembly V (although Jack only makes this explicit just before Assembly VII: " ... I'm going to be chief." (:147)), perhaps because by then his dominance over the group has been established Jack does not take over significantly anymore.

It is thus that the intuitive appreciation of conflict for dominance which this reader perceives is highly marked in the dialogue structure in the assemblies, as the tables show. It is also important to highlight that the most frequent type of response found is Takeover. This becomes significant because in 'normal' conversation one expects to find a majority of SUPPORTs; in this novel

however, the tables show a high degree of conflict in the frequent CHALLENGEs.

Interestingly, I have noticed that in another fictional dialogue between a similar group of English boys morooned in a similar desert island The Coral Island the picture is quite different. I found that the dialogue structure follows a pattern like what we find in 'normal' conversation, i.e., the boys talk cooperative friendly, talk. They are not seen to disrupt the turn-taking system or leave questions answered or block each other's topic, which as we have seen in Chapter II are some of the features of disorderly and non-cooperative talk. My point about cooperative talk between the boys being the 'norm' in Ballantyne's story is confirmed in the speech of one of his characters; Ralph has been taken away from the island by the pirates; here he talks to Bill, his sea mate:

> "I've been used to friendly conversation, Bill", ... "An' where have you been used to friendly conversation", said Bill, ... "not on that Coral Island, I take it?"
> "Yes, indeed", said I, energetically. (1982:127)

Interesting, although not surprising, the contrast which exist between Ballantyne's and Golding's story can also be seen in their choice of dialogue structure.

However, as I have explained in Chapter II, we cannot see all the meaningful implications in discourse by looking solely at discourse structure. There are other nunances of meaning which are carried by the interactive system. For

example, it is important to see whether Ralph and Jack treat each other civilly or not and also how they treat each other's propostions.

At another level of the same discourse we can discuss other meaningful aspects of content and attitudes present in the interaction. For this purpose Berry's model of the Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational functions now comes into play. Three examples will be provided here.

Assembly I covers the time from Ralph's summoning the boys by blowing the conch, to when Ralph and Jack bid to be their leader and Ralph is voted in. He then announces that Jack is in charge of part of the group, the hunters, as Ralph feels this concession will keep Jack satisfied. The most interesting topic exchange in this assembly is 'rescue-chief' because the way in which they develop this topic reflects the role they wish to take in the leadership of the group.

Jack opens the exchange with 'rescue', but Ralph takes over to start his own topic exchange (we need a chief to decide things), from here, thus challenging Jack's proposition first and foremost on the Ideational level for he blocks and rejects it. Ralph's success is then capped by his being chosen as leader, instead of Jack whose explicit bid for chiefdom -"I ought to be chief" (:23) - is rejected by the group; thus they challenge this exchange on the Interpersonal level.

The upshot of the assembly is that although Ralph has been chosen as chief, Jack's performance has gained him a concession in sharing leadership. This performance, as we

have seen, was in Jack Initiating two out of four topics, Taking over from Ralph in 'rescue-chief', and Closing the 'others' topic, showing his assertiveness in topic structure. The point to make is that their rivalry is marked both structurally and functionally.

The second example is from Assembly II. Ralph, Simon and Jack are back from their exploratory trip round the island. Ralph opens the assembly to report that they found the island to be a safe place for there are no signs of big animals or other dangers. Nevertheless, Jack Interrupts Ralph to say that they need an army "for hunting", as he puts it. The talk becomes fragmented because the boys, especially Jack, talk out of turn obviously not interested in Ralph's Initiation 'safe island'. It is at this point to avoid so much confusion that Ralph announces one of his most important rules - the rules for orderly talk during the assemblies. Turn-taking is then marked by the possession of the conch.

However, although Jack is seen to follow the rules of turn-taking in this assembly ('Jack seized the conch' (:40)), once he takes his turn he uses it to Takeover the ongoing topic exchange changing it to suit his purpose. Thus, we see him Taking over three (out of four presented in this assembly), topic exchanges and Preempting the other one. Notice that Ralph does not give up his position in the debate, for, Jack Takes over but Ralph has the final word to Close the topic exchanges with the exception of one which is when Jack Preempts Ralph's topic exchange "Make a fire!" ... "Come on! Follow me!" (:41); by Preempting this last topic exchange Jack is Closing it as if it had been Initiated by him in the first

place, thus challenging it on the Interpersonal level.

The upshot of this Assembly is that Jack gains prestige with the group due to his performance during the assembly. He follows the rules of orderly talk but he manipulates the topic exchanges to suit his purposes. His active performance is also seen in the way he Reopens the topic exchange 'snake thing' which Ralph had Closed to avoid confusion and fear; he is thus seen to challenge this exchange on the Interpersonal and on the Ideational levels.

The other example which I have chosen to comment on comes from the crucial fourth Assembly. This is perhaps the most significant assembly, filled with Interpersonal problems, since it is in this assembly that Ralph has a chance to consolidate and enforce his leadership, but he fails, with an ensuing state of disorder and conflict. It provides probably the major turning point in the book.

The assembly comes after they have seen a ship on the horizon, but as the fire was out they have missed a chance of rescue. The fire had been Jack's hunters' responsibility. The assembly starts with Ralph explicitly going over the rules of the conch, announcing that he wants a long turn "to put things straight" (:86). He points out that although they have assemblies and agree with what is to be done, things are not in fact getting done and that the rules are not being carried out. He puts blame on the hunters for not keeping the fire alight. He summarizes his speech thus:

> "So remember. The rocks for a lavatory. Keep the fire going and smoke showing as a signal. Don't take fire from the mountain. Take your food up there" (:89)

Jack is impatient for his turn:

> Jack stood up, scowling in the gloom, and held out his hands.
> "I haven't finished yet."
> "But you've talked and talked!"
> "I've got the conch."
> Jack sat down, grumbling. (:89)

At this point Ralph makes the mistake of allowing discussion of the topic 'fear', which is soon taken over by Jack, who does not accept Ralph's demystification of fear, but Interpersonally challenges Ralph, failing to back him up in denying the existence of ghosts and claiming that he and his hunters can kill any beast on the island. The meeting is in danger of collapsing and Ralph tries to restore order by referring explicitly again to the rules of the conch: "Because the rules are the only thing we've got!" (:100). The strongest challenge follows immediately, both Interpersonally and Ideationally:

> But Jack was shouting against him.
> "Bollocks to the rules! We're strong - we hunt! If there's a beast we 'll hunt it down! We'll close in and beat and beat and beat - !" (:100)

Interpersonally he provokes and opposes Ralph. Ideationally he negates and rejects preceding propositions of Ralph's. In terms of structure, he takes over and Closes Ralph's Initiation, with new content.

The upshot is that Jack has gained considerable prestige in the group, almost exclusively ar Ralph's expense.

My overall impression that Ralph has the role of chief but Jack acts like the chief is confirmed by this analysis. This can be seen in the frequency with which Jack Takes over and Closes topics Initiated by the other participants. Another interesting feature present in the analysis is that this conflict of roles can be carried in the conversation even when the boys follow the rules of orderly turn-taking which is overtly signalled in the assemblies by the possession of the conch. What we see is that, most of the time, Jack takes his due turn to change the ongoing topic to suit his purpose. As a result the rules of the conch are not sufficient to keep power legitimate, and the usurper wins by controlling topics to his own ends.

The question of who gains and who loses prestige in the group and why is thus answered, structurally and functionally, by approaching them with the models proposed.

Conclusion

We have seen how the model proposed manages to illuminate the relationships between the boys in Lord of the Flies, and how the theme of conflict is reflected in some of the linguistic devices used by Golding in the novel. This was what was announced in the Introduction (pages 2 to 3), as the major intent in the work: to answer the two questions - why did Golding choose to show such a theme of human savagery and malignancy, and how is this theme brought out in his text?

The way in which this has been achieved is shown in chapters 1 to 4, in the analysis of Golding's view of mankind, in the presentation of the models, in the discussion of naming, and finally in the analysis of some of the assemblies.

However, some further questions remain. What does the present work fail to show? What else might be done with the same novel, and what might be done, using similar tools, on other works of literature?

The study does not purport to deal with any other linguistic aspects than those analysed in the preceding chapters. Thus the main elements under consideration are the names (chapter 3) and the dialogues (chapters 3 and 4).

These are perhaps the main ways in which conflict is brought out in Lord of the Flies. However, other aspects could have been studied: for example, content analysis of lexis used by or about the various characters, or a psychological analysis of relationships.

Such alternatives would of course be beyond the scope of the present work.

It is also worth considering what the proposed model and the naming analysis might have to offer to literary study of

other works. It is likely that the tools used in the present work would be of use in the study of other novels. Golding's work has been the subject of linguistic analyses, eg. in Halliday's examination of The Inheritors. Many of the tools used here were developed in order to study other literary works, and there is no reason to suppose that the methods used in the present work would not operate successfully on many or most literary productions.

What of the 'magic' of literature, though? My intention throughout has been to let my literary interpretations guide the linguistic analysis, so that effects are first noted in a literary spirit of enquiry, and these effects are then studied carefully in terms of linguistic realizations.

Linguistic analyses of literature sometimes come under attack: they are accused of destroying the work of art by taking it to pieces.

Golding said: "There is no-one who is creative without being just a little dissective". The present intention has been to attempt non-destructive testing: it is my hope that the analytical dissection in the above chapters may serve not to remove the art from literature but instead to illuminate its mystery.

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Move (Opening)	Acts
	marker summons starter
	information elicitation directive accusation
	comment prompt clue
Move (Supporting)	accept
	acknowledge reply react excuse
	comment
Move (Challenging)	starter preface
	informative elicitation directive accusation
	comment prompt
Move (Bound-Opening)	starter preface
	informative elicitation directive accusation
	comment prompt
Move (Re-Opening)	starter preface
	informative elicitation directive accusation
	comment prompt

Dialogue and Discourse
By Deirdre Burton
R K & P 1980 (pg.155/6)

APPENDIX I

RECIPROCAL ACTS IN PRE-TOPIC EXCHANGES

Initiating	**Responding**
marker	acknowledgement
summons	accept
metastatement	accept

RECIPROCAL ACTS IN TOPIC EXCHANGES (Topic-carrying Acts)

Initiating	**Responding**
informative	acknowledgement
elicitation	reply
directive	react
accuse	excuse

"Literary Text and Language Study"
"Conversation Pieces"by Deirdre Burton
Eds Ronald Caster and Deirdre Burton
Arnold 1982

APPENDIX II

Label	Symbol	Realization and definition
reply	re	Realized by a statement, question moodless items and nonverbal surrogates such as nods. Its function is to provide a linguistic response appropriate to a preceding elicitation.
react	rea	Realized by a nonlinguistic action. Its function is to provide an appropriate nonlinguistic response to a preceding directive.
acknowledge	ack	Realized by 'yes', 'OK','Uhuh' and expressive particles. Its function is to show that an informative has been understood, and its significance appreciated.
excuse	exc	Realized by a formulaic apology, or statement or moodless item which substitutes for an apology, and is thus heard as an excuse. Its function is to provide an appropriate response to a preceding accusation.
preface	pr	Realized by combinations of misplacement markers, self-referential meta-terms and meta-reference to preceding talk.Its function is to show that a diverted topic is being reintroduced.
prompt	p	Realized by a close class of items -'go on', 'what are you waiting for', 'hurry up'. Its function is to reinforce a preceding directive or elicitation.
clue	cl	Realized by a statement, question, command or moodless item. Its function is to provide additional information which helps an interlocutor to answer an elicitation or comply with a directive.
nomination	n	Realized by names of participants or 'you'. Function to call on or give permission to the named person to contribute to the discourse.
evaluate	ev	Realized by statements and tag questions (e.g. 'isn't it?') including words and phrases like 'good' 'interesting' etc,commenting on the quality of a preceding contribution.

"Literary Text and Language Study"
Eds Ronald Caster and Deirdre Burton
Arnold 1982

APPENDIX III

Label	Symbol	Realization and definition
marker	m	Realized by a closed(i.e.finite) class of items -'Well', 'OK', 'Now', 'Good', 'Alright', and expressive particles, eg. 'kaw', 'Blimey'.Its function is to mark boundaries in the discourse and to indicate that the speaker has a topic to introduce.
summons	sum	Realized by a closed class of verbal nonverbal items - the use of the name of another participant, or mechanical devices like door bells or telephone calls. Its function is to mark a boundary in the discourse, and to indicate that the producer of the item has a topic to introduce once he has gained the attention of the hearer.
silent stress		Realized by a pause, indicated in the text by either an exclamation mark, or a stage direction following a Marker.It functions to highlight the Marker or Summons when they act as the head of a pre-topic exchange.
starter	s	Realized by a statement, question, command or moodless item. Its function is to provide information about, direct attention to, or thought towards, an area, in order to make a correct response to the coming initiation more likely.
metastatement	ms	Realized by a statement, question or command which refers to a future event in the ongoing talk, or a request for speaker's rights. Its function is to make clear the structure of the immediately following discourse, and to indicate the speaker's wish for an extended turn.
conclusion	con	Realized by an anaphoric (orback-ward referring) statement,which can be seen as the complement to metastatement, in that its function is to make clear the structure of the immediately preceding discourse.
informative	i	Realized by a statement whose sole function is to provide information The appropriate response is the giving of attention and indication of understanding.
elicitation	el	Realized by a qu tion. Its function is to request a linguistic response. Occasionally it may be realized by a command requesting a linguistic response.
directive	dir	Realized by a comment, and functions to request a nonlinguistic response.
accusation	accn	Realized by a statement, question command or moodless item. Its function is to request an apology or a surrogate excuse.
comment	comm	Realized by a statement, question or command, or moodless item, and functions to expand, justify, provide additional information to a preceding informative or comment.
accept	acct	Realized by, for example, 'yes', 'OK', 'uhuh', 'I will', 'no'(where the preceding utterance was negative).Its function is to indicate that the speaker has heard and understood the previous utterance and is compliant, in terms of the discourse at least.

Appendix 4.

Acts in the three functions